THE Nation

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The Shape of Things

TO THE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE OF the Senate goes whatever decoration is reserved for the shabbiest act of the week. In its dying days the Eightieth Congress, true to its nature, tacked on to the appropriation bill for the Interior Department an unconstitutional rider aimed solely at removing two officials from the pay roll. The men affected were Michael W. Straus, Reclamation Commissioner, and Richard L. Boke, regional reclamation director for California; and to avoid making the rider an outright bill of attainder the legislators decreed that their positions could be filled only by engineers of five years' experience. Behind this maneuver was a long and unsavory campaign, spearheaded by Senator Downey of California, to repeal the law setting 160 acres as the limit for which any one individual may obtain water provided by federal irrigation facilities. Having failed utterly in this effort, Downey tried, according to former Secretary of the Interior Ickes, to get Straus and Boke to ignore the law in the interest of the big corporate landholders among his constituents. Thwarted again, he managed to railroad through the rider. In response to President Truman's specific request, the House voted to repeal it, but the Appropriations Committee of the upper chamber has refused on the newly advanced ground that there is some question about Straus's loyalty. The fact is that Mr. Straus was completely cleared by the loyalty board of his department a year ago, but the Senators now contend that they cannot be sure because the FBI refuses to let them see the report. Their punitive action against these two officials is a flagrant usurpation of the functions of both the other branches of government. But to prove that, the victims would have to carry the matter through the courts—a hardship made doubly onerous by the fact that they have been serving for months without pay in the hope that the Eighty-first Congress would undo the injustice of the Eightieth.

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GENERAL DE GAULLE'S CALL FOR A GENERAL election has left Prime Minister Queuille completely undisturbed and enjoying to the full his victory, which was confirmed in the second cantonal election held on March 27. The government coalition retained the lead it was assured on March 20, with 747 seats distributed among the three major government parties—the Radicals, the M. R. P., and the Socialists—against 389 seats obtained by the Gaullists. These official figures were immediately challenged in a press conference held by General de Gaulle, in which he charged the government with distortion of the actual political results and with claiming a majority which was in fact nothing but an aggregation of disunited, quarreling parties. Once more De Gaulle used the international situation as his main argument in demanding that the present coalition government retire and the direction of France be handed over to him. He interpreted the recent changes in the Soviet government and Soviet army as an unmistakable indication that Russia did not intend to sit by while an alliance directed against it was built up. The Atlantic Pact, the General warned, was only an empty and dangerous gesture unless the signatory countries were armed sufficiently to meet a formidable enemy. But the present government, in his opinion, is incapable of directing the rearmament of France. Only he, De Gaulle, can make France safe against communism. He ridiculed the government's claim to a decisive defeat of the Communists, pointing out that Communist strength in France was undiminished. Besides pressure from the Gaullist ranks, rightist leaders like Paul Reynaud are urging Prime Minister Queuille to accept France's shift to the right and to form a government in full recognition of the fact that the Gaullists received the largest vote of any single party.

Peace: How Can It Be Achieved?

This issue will reach most of our readers on the day of the Nation Associates' dinner forum at the Waldorf-Astoria. Speakers at the dinner are Herbert V. Evatt, William O. Douglas, Rómulo Gallegos, Moshe Sharett (Shertok), and Freda Kirchwey. A complete report on the proceedings will appear next week, and in subsequent issues the forum addresses will be printed in whole or in part.

The dinner is being held at 6:30 p. m., Thursday, April 7, on the Starlight Roof of the Waldorf. Those readers in the New York area who wish to attend may secure reservations until noon Thursday at the office of the Nation Associates, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7. Telephone: BArclay 7-1064.

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REDUCTION IN STOCK-TRADING MARGINS last week was greeted in Wall Street with rather mixed feelings. The Stock Exchange community had long been pressing for more generous credit for traders, but it felt that the Federal Reserve Bank made the move only when it had been impressed by the deflationary forces at work in the economy. One of the bank's governors, Marriner Eccles, said later in the week, "The back of inflation is broken"; and even though he added that the adjustment taking place was "healthy," his remark suggested caution to prospective investors and speculators. At any rate, after two days of unwonted activity Wall Street relapsed into the doldrums, and the net improvement in average prices for the week was unimpressive. Clearly traders are awaiting indications that the current recession will be held to moderate proportions. News that employment picked up somewhat in March despite the coal strike is encouraging. On the other hand, some recent price cuts have caused nervousness. Have they come too late? Will they stimulate demand or persuade consumers to hold back in the belief that further reductions will follow? The extent of the seasonal improvement in the current month in such indices as car loadings and retail trade should tell the story. Meanwhile, Congress is stalling on the President's economic program, and apparent disagreement among official economists provides a plausible excuse. Mr. Truman, presumably in accord with his Council of Economic Advisers, has expressed the belief that inflation remains a danger and reiterated his demand for higher taxes. He may be right, for the economic situation is full of contradictions. But we hope he will not hesitate to readjust his program if further examination of the facts points to the need. In particular, we think there is now a strong case for reduction of excise taxes.

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WHEN ANNA LOUISE STRONG CAME HOME from the Soviet Union, she sat down and wrote the story of her arrest and expulsion. It came hot off the typewriter, disclosing plainly the harsh, arbitrary methods of the Russian government and her own bewilderment and fear. Since she knew she had not been a spy, Miss Strong was naturally outraged at being accused of espionage, imprisoned, and finally shoved over the Polish border without hearing or trial. With thirty-five years of uncritical devotion to the Russian regime behind her, however, she did her best to find extenuating circumstances; she convinced herself that the "mistake" had been made by subordinate police officials whose suspicion had been aroused by her persistent efforts to get permission to go to China by way of the closed Manchurian frontier. And she kept wondering if her "friends" higher up knew what the police had done. But since she could not reach Stalin or Molotov to ask, her anxious wish to find a reason and excuse for the

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treatment she received is also recorded in the story. Published last week in six instalments in the New York *Herald Tribune*, this first-hand report of Russian "security" methods has created widespread disturbance in left-wing circles. The *Daily Worker*, which finished printing Miss Strong's excellent series on the Chinese revolution just before her arrest, has denounced her as a tool of reactionary "paymasters." Even her old friends, the Chinese Communist leaders, have written her off as a spy they had unwittingly allowed in their midst. These official repudiations were to be expected. More revealing have been the reactions of groups in and around the Progressive Party, to which Miss Strong belongs. Some support her and agree that her story should have been told even in the capitalist press. Others view the publication of the story, despite its careful qualifications and judgments, as highly damaging to the Progressive cause and to Russia. Without wishing it in the least, Miss Strong and her series have become a sort of litmus test for the far left. It will be interesting to see who and how many among her political associates show up "red."

*

WHEN ALFRED E. SMITH SIGNED THE BILL repealing New York's Lusk laws twenty-six years ago, he passed this judgment upon the expiring measures: "They are repugnant to the fundamentals of democracy. Under [them], teachers . . . were in effect compelled to hold opinions as to governmental matters deemed by a state official consistent with loyalty . . . Freedom of opinion and freedom of speech were by those laws unduly shackled." Despite this testament, the shadow of the Lusk committee has now risen again in New York. The state Senate and Assembly, by large majorities, last week passed and Governor Dewey forthwith approved a bill designed to exclude "subversive" and Communist teachers from the schools. Sponsored by the Republican Senate Majority Leader, Benjamin F. Feinberg, the new law directs the Regents to dismiss outright any public-school employee, from superintendent to janitor, who advocates overthrow of the government by force and violence or who utters or commits "treasonable or seditious" words or acts. It further orders the Regents to compile periodically lists of "subversive" organizations "after such notice and hearing as *may be* appropriate" (italics ours), and to discharge any public-school employee belonging to a blacklisted organization. Mr. Dewey, who had been given a month in which to weigh public opinion before signing the bill, took only two days to commit himself, thus beating public opinion to the draw. Nevertheless, a number of articulate organizations, including the American Civil Liberties Union, are now or will soon go on record against this throwback to the dark days of 1923, and its constitutionality will be challenged in the courts in the near future.

Signed but Not Sealed

I. The Pact and the Charter

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

WHEN Russia charges that the North Atlantic Pact is directed against the Soviet Union it is telling the plain truth, and no State Department denials will persuade a sensible observer otherwise. Every official argument in support of the pact has pointed straight at Moscow, explicitly if not by name, and the text of the pact itself implicitly does the same thing. The position of the Western powers was clearly stated by Mr. Churchill in his Boston speech when he described the Russian government as a tyranny "holding down hundreds of millions of people and aiming at the rule of the world." His words may have been a little too bald for official comfort, but they have been echoed in more diplomatic language by every Western spokesman. How, then, can Mr. Acheson and his European associates expect to be believed when they insist that the pact is directed merely against aggression in general? The answer is so technical as to be meaningless, and is consequently deceptive.

Russia is also correct in charging that the pact conflicts with the provisions in the United Nations Charter covering regional agreements. This point will certainly be argued in detail during the sessions of the General Assembly just starting at Lake Success, but one need not wait for the formal debate to find out what delegates and U. N. officials think. Even among those who accept the pact as necessary, many regard it as an infringement of the Charter and a threat to the influence and integrity of the international organization.

On the other hand, the Russian charge that the Atlantic Pact "has an obviously aggressive character" goes too far. The alliance of the Western powers is aimed at the Soviet Union and yet is defensive rather than aggressive, at least at this stage. The position is succinctly put by the French writer David Rousset on page 408 of this issue: The pact, he says, "is part of a system designed to obtain vital concessions from the U. S. S. R. without resort to war. It is based on the conviction that a show of strength will make it unnecessary to set the fearful war machine in motion." M. Rousset does not share that conviction, but even in criticizing the pact he agrees that its purpose is to prevent war if possible.

If these few facts could be recognized by all concerned we should be spared a lot of hokum in the debates that lie ahead; but this is probably too much to ask. Even the press, for the most part, seems to be leagued with the various governments in an attempt to obscure the truth and confuse the issues.

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MOST Americans, I think, would subscribe to M. Rousset's definition of the pact. This being so, we are not likely to witness a serious fight over ratification. Only a few diehard isolationists and leftists will oppose the pact from the ground up, and they will do so for the record, knowing in advance that they are beaten. Most critics will concentrate on an effort to amend the pact in the Senate, to divest it of some of its threatening aspects or to put a limit on expenditures for arms. For while the pact has been signed, with a pomp and solemnity obviously intended to discourage opposition at home and abroad, it has not been sealed.

Liberals who defend the new alliance argue that without cohesion, without the security that lies in a firm agreement and pooled resources, the West was forced to reject Soviet advances and adopt a negative foreign policy. I have heard it stated that the breakdown of the Berlin talks last summer would never have occurred if the United States had not feared the consequences of a showdown on Germany before unity was achieved in the West. "First it was necessary to complete the pact," I was recently told. "We couldn't risk either concessions to Russia or a general debate on the German issue until we could show a solid front. Such a debate might even have wrecked the negotiations for the pact."

This reasoning may or may not be valid. Differences among the Atlantic powers will not be automatically resolved by the pact, as this week's conversations about western Germany plainly show, but it is possible to hope that once the West is allied by formal agreement, Russia will find those differences harder to exploit for its own ends. In any case the opportunity is now open to the United States and its allies to initiate a policy based on their new-born unity, a positive policy stemming from confidence, not from fear.

Such a policy implies more than a proposal to Russia to talk over the major issues dividing East and West. It implies a careful reconsideration and adjustment of the American position on a multitude of specific questions; it also implies important changes in the pact itself. By acts rather than words, the United States should use this occasion to try to convince the Soviet Union that our intentions are genuinely pacific. The pact, if it is to be more than a threat and a challenge, must be the signal for a new effort on our part to overcome hostility and find a way toward peace.

In this short space I should like to suggest just two or three changes essential to a policy of conciliation.

First of all, the pact should be amended to bring it within the confines of the United Nations Charter. Any honest person reading the Charter and the pact side by side will reject the State Department claim that the pact "implements the Charter." The contrary is true. Article 51 of the Charter recognizes the right of member states to defend themselves against armed attack, individually or collectively, until the Security Council has taken measures to deal with the emergency. But Article 53 provides that no enforcement action shall be taken by any regional agency "without the authorization of the Security Council," and Article 54 says that the council shall be "kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements. . . ." The text of the pact ignores these detailed provisions; instead it states that the signatories will act "forthwith" in case of armed attack upon a fellow-member and will then report their action to the Security Council.

Under a common-sense interpretation of the Charter, the Atlantic Pact is not a regional arrangement at all. Not only does it span continents in its geographic scope; it makes no reference to "local disputes." Yet Article 52 of the Charter obviously regards such disputes as the basic reason for the regional arrangements which it permits.

If the sponsors of the new alliance want to operate under the United Nations, rather than in competition with it, they will welcome amendments to Article 5 of the pact to eliminate at least the more glaring discrepancies and violations mentioned above.

Amendment of Article 4 of the pact is equally necessary. This article provides for consultation among the signatory powers "whenever, in the opinion of any of them, the territorial integrity, political independence, or security of any of the parties is threatened." In an earlier editorial I mentioned some of the dangers hiding in this verbal underbrush: What is "political independence?" Does "territorial integrity" reach into the colonies? What follows "consultation" in case action is called for? I cannot believe that this country is yet prepared to risk war in order to put down revolution or nationalist uprising against a fellow-member of the pact, especially since we have already taken one uneasy dictatorship into the fraternity and may soon welcome another.

If the pact is not to become an instrument to maintain by force the political status quo in member nations, including perhaps their colonial areas, Article 4 should be amended to include a clear guaranty that it will not be invoked to help a member government suppress an internal uprising unless such uprising coincides with and supports an armed attack from outside. The United States had better explicitly reject the obligation to defend reactionary rulers from their miserable subjects if it hopes

In an Early Issue

Japan: Gibraltar or Bataan?

By William Costello

CBS News Director in Tokio

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to deprive Russia either of its suspicions or its best political weapon in Western Europe.

In an early article I shall discuss certain changes that must be made in our foreign policy if we are to use the Atlantic Pact for peace rather than war.

The Venezuela Petition

VIOLATIONS of the United Nations Charter by the Military Junta ruling Venezuela may be put on the agenda of the General Assembly at the session opening this week at Lake Success. An investigation of these violations was urged by ex-President Rómulo Betancourt in a letter to Secretary General Lie submitting a formal communication from Rómulo Gallegos, constitutional President of Venezuela, and Andrés Eloy Blanco, Foreign Minister and chief of the Venezuelan delegation at the Paris session of the Assembly.

In an interview with the press on March 28 at Lake Success, Betancourt told how the Military Junta—which should never have been recognized by this country—is persecuting its enemies. Dr. Gallegos, in his letter to Trygve Lie said: "After consummating their assault upon the constitutional government and the will of the nation that elected it, they [the Junta] imprisoned, besides the undersigned President of the Republic, the presidents of the legislative chambers, numerous senators and deputies, cabinet ministers, the presidential secretary, . . . and hundreds of officials and ordinary citizens. . . . The sole crime of these citizens was that of serving the government, or of being enrolled in the political party representing the largest national majorities, or of sympathizing in some manner with the social and political program of the constitutional government."

The pretender to the title of Minister of the Interior, Lieutenant Colonel Llovera Paez, has declared that these men will continue to be held as political "hostages" until the one million who voted against the totalitarians end their loyalty to the government they elected.

More and more newspapers are being suppressed. Among those which have been shut down for trying to print the truth are *El País* of Caracas, *El Día* of Valencia, *Fronteras* of San Cristobal, and one of the country's oldest newspapers, *Panorama* of Maracaibo. Here is a flagrant violation of the resolution on Freedom of the Press adopted last year in Geneva by the U. N. Conference on Freedom of Information. Venezuela proudly signed this resolution.

The fate of the petition for an investigation by the United Nations will not be known for some weeks, but two Latin American countries—Guatemala and Chile—have already promised to support the proposal. Since four other countries—Uruguay, Costa Rica, Cuba, and Bolivia—have no relations with the usurping Junta, their backing may also be counted on.

POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

From Lenin to Dennis

WHEN Nikolai Lenin drew up his "State and Revolution," could he have foreseen, I wonder, that the Communist Party of the United States would ultimately make its stand not on the barricades of New York but in the prosy, lethargic courtroom of Judge Harold R. Medina? Could he—and Marx and Engels—have imagined that their American heirs would rest their case not on the "inevitability" of revolution, but on the contention of Eugene Dennis that they were just a band of "forward-looking American workers" bent on carrying out what Mr. Dennis says "is popularly known as Roosevelt's Great Design for lasting peace"?

I refer to this gap between classic Communist theory and Communist Party "line" to indicate the gulf that the prosecution will have to bridge in the case of the eleven Communist leaders now on trial. The pattern of that trial, painfully dragging out its course, is at last beginning to take form. The prosecution, having to show that the defendants conspired to teach and advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence, apparently intends to do so by showing first that they specifically planned to teach "Marxism-Leninism" and second that this double-ism literally advocates violent revolution.

Lenin's essay on the state, which United States Attorney John F. X. McGohey has already introduced to the jurors, is peculiarly suited to this purpose. Rereading it, I find it a fierce diatribe against the cursed Mensheviks, or Socialists, whom Lenin accused of "emasculating," "vulgarizing," and "adulterating" Marxism, in order to "distort the revolutionary side of its teaching . . . and extol what is, or seems, acceptable to the bourgeoisie." These "Socialist chauvinists" were far too preoccupied, Lenin suggested, with what they mistakenly held to be the doctrine of Marx and Engels that the state would ultimately "wither away" and thus not have to be deliberately destroyed.

> In reality [Lenin wrote] Engels speaks here of the *destruction* of the capitalist State by the proletarian revolution, while the words about its withering away refer to the remains of a proletarian State *after* the Socialist revolution. The capitalist State does not wither away, according to Engels, but is *destroyed* by the proletariat in the course of the revolution.

Expounding further on the classic doctrine of the Communist founding fathers, Lenin in this uncompromising work refers to Engels's "veritable panegyric of a revolution by force." And as Mr. McGohey has already pointed out to the jury, he refers specifically and most

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favorably to "the teaching of Marx and Engels regarding the inevitability of a violent revolution" against the capitalist state, which "cannot be replaced by the proletarian state . . . through mere 'withering away,' but, in accordance with the general rule, can only be brought about by a violent revolution." This view, according to Lenin, "is quite irreconcilable with reformism, strikes straight at the heart of the common opportunist prejudices and middle-class illusions about the 'peaceful development of democracy.'"

Yet, if it is fair to judge on the basis of Mr. Dennis's opening statement to the jury—the general secretary of the party is acting as his own counsel—the American Communists today are following precisely this "reformist" line, fostering just such "middle-class illusions." Listen to Mr. Dennis:

> The defense will establish that the prosecution's arbitrary description of these general [Marxist-Leninist] political, social, and economic theories is wholly false . . . the defense will squarely meet and disprove the prosecution's charge that the principles of scientific socialism teach or imply the duty or necessity to overthrow the United States government by force and violence.

Pursuing this line to its ultimate, Mr. Dennis expects to put in evidence Marx's friendly correspondence with Abraham Lincoln and to contend—this is the real tip-off on the strategy of the defense—"that these immortal classics are not blueprints—nor directives."

The truth appears to be that the indictment has impaled the American Communist leaders on the horns of a dilemma. They must either minimize the teachings of the founders of their belief, the very teachings that separated them most sharply from the bourgeois Socialists they so violently condemn, or they must stand on those teachings and take the consequences. Since they appear to have elected the first course, the prosecution faces the task of proving that they conspired to teach doctrines which they have chosen in open court to water down. As Dennis himself put it, "certain propositions, as well as strategy and tactics, are modified to conform with developments of history and new social situations."

Whether or not this ideological deviation is genuine, the prosecution may have real difficulty in proving its charges on the basis of what Marx, Engels, and Lenin wrote in the distant past. It is perfectly true that even the greatest theories are modified in time by those who profess to act in accordance with them. Certainly believers in the doctrine of evolution have made notable advances from the propositions originally laid down by Darwin, and few Christians live by the Gospel. Whatever the legal technicalities of the case, the public in general, I think, will expect the prosecution to show a more concrete conspiracy to advocate overthrow of the government than the agreement to circulate and expound, through the party apparatus, certain books which may be found in almost any library.

Confronted with the preamble of the Communist Party constitution, which "upholds the achievements of American-democracy and defends the United States Constitution," Louis F. Budenz, once editor of the *Daily Worker* and now a government witness, describes these phrases as "the Aesopian language of V. I. Lenin." In the vernacular this means the kind of double-talk developed by Lenin to get around the censorship of the czarist police. But if the Communists' protestations of democracy are "Aesopian"—and I happen to think they are—their affirmations of Marxism may be no less Aesopian. For a good many years, it seems to me, Marxism as preached by the Stalinists has been anything that served the immediate interests of the Soviet regime, whether it was collective security against fascism or the pact with Hitler; excoriation of Russia's czarist history or glorification of Peter the Great; modernism in music or a ban on compositions not melodic enough for Stalin to whistle. Now that there are other Communist states in the world, with differing considerations of national interest, we have conflicting views of what is Marxist. This is true of Russia versus Yugoslavia today; it may, more importantly, be true of Russia versus China tomorrow.

THE ATLANTIC PACT

Trouble in the Senate

BY THOMAS SANCTON

Washington, April 1

THE legislative processes that back up American foreign policy are taking a confused and unpredictable course today in Washington. Leaders of the bi-partisan program are deeply concerned. In the Senate, during this crucial period of treaty-writing, a strong isolationist current is running. Every piece of legislation predicated upon the principle of international cooperation and mutual aid—from the proposed International Trade Organization through the Atlantic Pact and arms program—is facing a mounting challenge.

As this is written, a bill to appropriate $5,580,000,000 for a second year's operation of the European Recovery Program is before the Senate, and an amendment offered by Senators Taft and Russell to cut this figure 10 per cent is being debated. The vote will be a crucial one, for it will forecast the Senate's position on other questions of foreign policy. The debate on this amendment, actually the brain-child of Taft, has shown that a number of former influential internationalists and interventionists are modifying their position. Senator George is primarily concerned with the growing burdens on the national economy. Russell, brilliant leader

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of the recent filibuster and a ruthless political operator, is supporting Taft's glib isolationism chiefly in payment for Taft's help in scuttling the civil-rights program. They don't talk about it in these terms in the Senate of course, or make such deals a matter of public record, but the whole story is there in their votes.

Taft invariably begins his destructive speeches with an indignant denial that he is doing what he is doing. "I disavow any attack on Great Britain," he said last Wednesday in a one-hour attack on Great Britain and, more particularly, on what he believes is an American subsidy of British socialism. "It is certainly not with any intention of killing the rent-control bill," he said the day before, in explaining why he wished to recommit the bill to the Senate-House conference committee, which would amount to killing it. Similar protestations were interspersed in his speech for the "compromise" which defeated the civil-rights program.

Taft was not primarily interested, as were the Southerners, in killing off civil rights—his feelings about the question seem to be neutral, and he guards his reputation as a "civil libertarian." His goal is the perpetuation and perfection of a reactionary coalition of Republicans and Southerners, his covert leadership of which makes him still the most powerful man in the Senate, despite the repudiation of his policies in the November elections.

Taft's opposition to the full E. R. P. appropriation derives not only from his economic views but from a quirk in his psychology which sets him in some degree against every program he does not dominate. But the opposition of certain former 100 per cent internationalists, like Senator George, is based almost wholly on their classical economic outlook, which conflicts so sharply with the fantastic fiscal developments of the post-war era. At the moment of writing there is no telling how many lesser Southern figures may go along with George and Russell. The numerous sympathetic questions asked by Ellender of Louisiana during Taft's speech for an E. C. A. cut and similarly friendly questions by Long during an outright attack upon the Atlantic Pact by Donnell of Missouri indicate growing isolationist sentiment in the former Southern strongholds of internationalism. The trend exists whatever the actual vote on the Taft amendment and the E. C. A. bill. Even the courtly Millard Tydings, chairman of the Armed Services Committee, who spoke against the cut, appears to have developed private misgivings about the amount of spending continuing under the Marshall Plan.

The Senate also contains a sizable group which represents the old-fashioned isolationism of the West and Middle West. Mostly they are men whom "nobody ever heard of," at least in the East: Jenner of Indiana, Watkins of Utah, Malone of Nevada, Kem and Donnell of Missouri, Cordon of Oregon. A few, such as Capehart of Indiana and Langer of North Dakota, are better known. Some of these men have oratorical gifts which have made their isolationism sound more formidable than it will turn out to be when the votes are counted on the Atlantic Pact and the arms program.

Malone and Jenner uphold the "Fortress America" theory of military strategy. Before making a speech against the E. C. A. Malone called in reporters to explain his alternative three-part proposal: "Feed starving people everywhere"—an outright gift; for industrial recovery purposes lend money to European business firms on terms like the RFC's to U. S. firms—"send a cold-eyed engineer to look these British and French business propositions over and foreclose if they can't pay off the loan"; then build 35,000 first-line planes and stockpile atom bombs and draw a boundary in Europe as the outpost of the Monroe Doctrine. If anyone steps over it—wham! let 'em have it.

"Don't anybody call that isolationism, either," says Malone. "I took a battery of field artillery to Europe in the First World War. One of these Senators called me an isolationist on the floor the other day. I went and stood in front of him until he took it back. If he hadn't, I'd have taken him into the cloakroom and twisted his neck off."

Jenner, a younger man, is one of the best speakers and one of the most primitive intellects in contemporary politics. He was in the last war and believes that a land-war holding action against Russia would be futile. He counts up Russia's divisions and the divisions available in Western Europe and insists that it all adds up to another Dunkirk. But air power and the bomb—ah, that is something else. He is against the pact and for air power and the bomb.

Another factor in the Senate's neo-isolationism—the simple matter of getting reelected—is revealed in the filibuster-length speeches of Senator Watkins, a mild-gray little man who resents the fact that the State Department kept the Senate in ignorance about the pact during its writing. At the same time, he says, the department fed specific information of day-to-day developments to friendly journalists like James Reston of the New York *Times*. "I want to call attention," says Watkins, "to the fact that the European Recovery Program as finally forecast by Mr. Hoffman at $17,000,000,000 would build every reclamation project in the West, without any cost to the people there. . . . My people will say, 'Well, you gave it to Europe, why can't you give it to us at home, if you want to make America strong?' "

Where was the first act of this tragedy laid—who first provoked whom in this now mounting series of aggressions and reactions? Did it begin, as Professor Blackett appears to believe, when America gratuitously dropped the bomb on Hiroshima, to appall Russia as well as Japan? Did it begin when Russia, together with France, started to sabotage the quadripartite government

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of Germany? Did it begin when Churchill flung down the challenge at Fulton, Missouri, apparently with the approval of Truman? Did it begin 101 years ago with the Communist Manifesto? History perhaps may write the answer. The truth is hard to discover in these days of confusion and danger, when most people feel compelled to identify themselves with one militaristic paranoia or the other—the Russian or the "bi-partisan"—to use the phrase of Professor Frederick L. Schuman.

Russia's provocative acts in this tragedy have appeared more obvious and more wanton than our own. What is happening, I believe, is that the Russian psychological technique of exploiting the fear of war has created at the upper political levels a confusion in which isolationism is regaining importance, and in the masses of Americans, the millions who live far from New York and Washington, a wild and unreasoning hatred. Living in small towns in Mississippi during much of the past four years, I believe I have seen the mood of the American people change from what it was during the agitation to "bring the boys home" to what it is today, when an impending conflict is discussed and more or less taken for granted by all groups, from the President's advisers down to country school boards.

I shall attempt to develop more fully in a subsequent article what seem to me to be the underlying psychological sources of this development, both in the sphere of capital diplomacy and in the hinterland. To indicate where I believe some of these sources are to be found, I quote the following passage from "The Social Basis of Consciousness," by Trigant Burrow, published in 1927:

> We have recently waged a world war which, according to the state of mind of its participants prior to its occurrence, was the admittedly inevitable recourse, but which, in the opinion of thinking men subsequent to its enactment, is now equally admitted to have been a wholly unnecessary eventuality. How, then, upon our present basis of mentation, may we conclude what is an adequate criterion by which we may determine a dependable process of thinking? If we may know our states of mind only after we have vented the emotions that first incited them, of what use is it to know them? If states of mind can produce calamities that gather their toll of human life by the millions and we can, by subsequently taking thought, come to regard them as unnecessary, what must be felt toward states of mind that have produced such calamities? Surely it is not the part of intelligence to feel regret of a disaster only after the disaster has befallen. If a disaster need not befall, would it not be wiser to deplore it beforehand and so avert the disaster? This would seem the logical course, but the truth is that the logical course is not accessible to man in his present state of unconsciousness. For in his present state of development his actions are predominantly under the guidance of his emotions, and his thought can therefore only follow after.

The Pact Is Obsolete

BY DAVID ROUSSET

[*David Rousset, French author, is one of the leaders of the new, rapidly growing Rassemblement Démocratique Révolutionnaire, an anti-Communist but left-wing political group which grew directly out of the Resistance. His concentration-camp experiences were told in his prize-winning book "The Other Kingdom."*]

Paris, March 25

THE Atlantic Pact answers neither to the aims it set itself nor to the real situation in Europe. It can be explained only by the power of certain diplomatic and military traditions which are already anachronistic and by the pressure exerted on Washington by the present governments of Western Europe, dominated by an out-of-date conception of territorial security.

The pact is not a war measure. On the contrary, it is part of a system designed to obtain vital concessions from the U. S. S. R. without resort to war. It is based on the conviction that a show of strength will make it unnecessary to set the fearful war machine in action. The real question about the pact, therefore, is whether under present world conditions, and especially European conditions, it is the best possible strategy for Europe to adopt against the U. S. S. R. I think it is not.

I am against Soviet Russia for a perfectly clear and simple reason: because the Soviet regime is totalitarian, because it represents, since the disappearance of Nazism, the fiercest social reaction that exists. The Communists are not of the left; they are determined reactionaries. What, then, is the source of their powerful influence on European workers and liberals? The confusion in people's minds—systematically fostered by the Communists—between the present Stalinist system and the Russian Revolution of 1918 accounts for some of it. But in the last analysis the most important factor is the exhaustion of the present economic system in Europe. It is very difficult for Americans to understand how great this exhaustion is and how generally it is recognized by European opinion. The workers and the middle classes seek for a radical modification of the present system not because they are Socialists but because under it they can no longer live decently. The Communists represent a different system, and that is why they exert such great influence today.

The Communists are social reactionaries in the sense that their regime destroys all freedom and therefore allows no chance of continuing social progress, which always requires a little freedom. But people understand only what they themselves have lived through. Western Europeans have no precise idea of this aspect of the Russian regime. Social reaction appears to them with the face of their own worn-out system. The thing that remains in their minds about communism is that it is a dif-

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ferent system from the one that will not let them live decently.

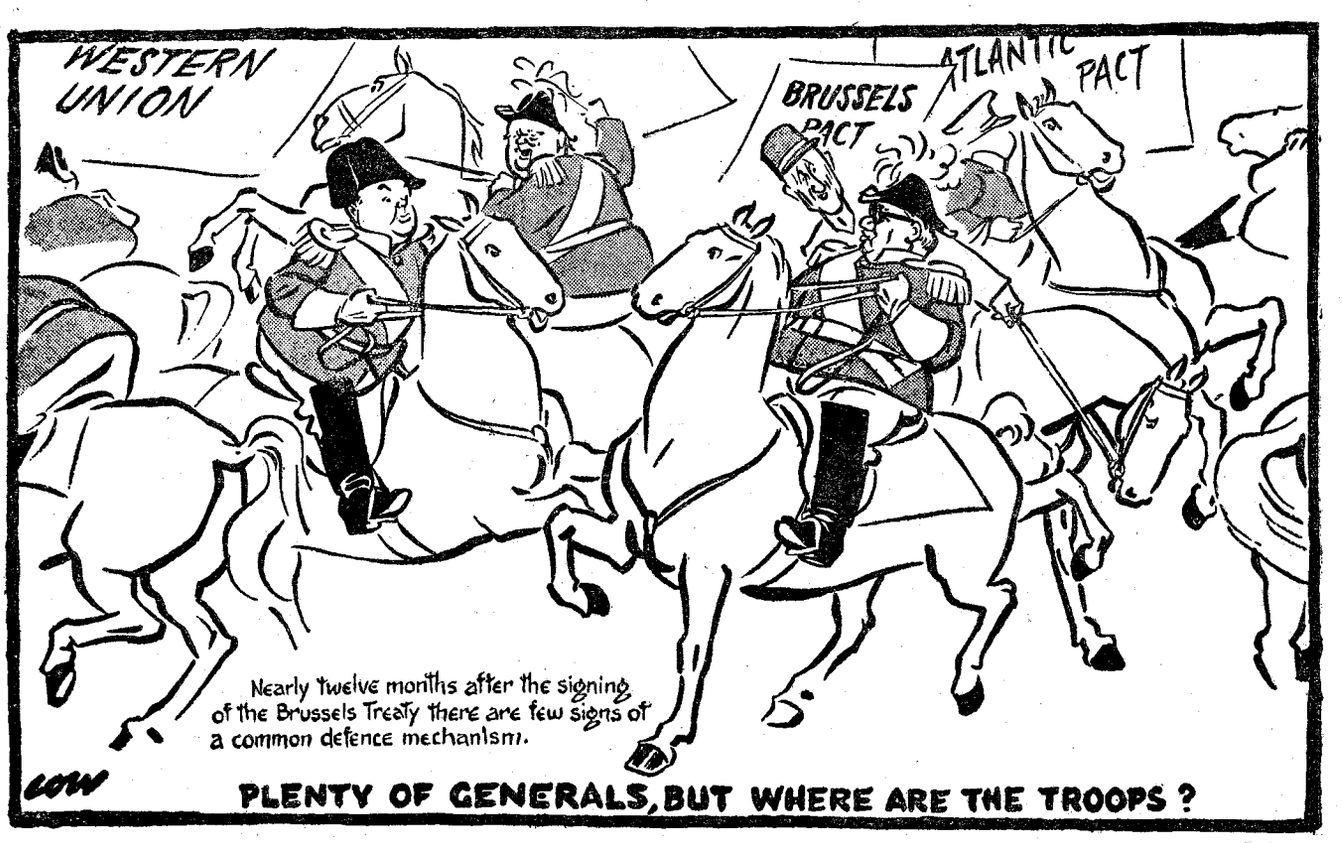
Soviet expansion is founded on this fact. I do not mean to say that military might plays no part in it. But the Red Army comes *after* the political work of the Communist parties and trade unions. If an efficacious strategy against the Russians is to be worked out, the situation in Europe must be taken into account. It is in the social field that communism must be fought, to begin with. What will be the use of the pact if seven or eight million men in France actively or passively oppose its application? What security can it bring to Europe and the United States if the real aims of the European masses are not defended by it? The conquest of France in 1940 was due not so much to the nation's military insolvency as to the failure of a large part of the population to see what interest they had in the war. The underground movement developed its impetus because the masses discovered what their interest was after they had experienced the loss of their liberties and the collapse of their standard of living.

We are not on the eve of war. It is reasonable to believe that we have a few years of peace in front of us. These years will be what we make them. And they will be decisive for us. The most effective strategy against Stalin would be to make use of this respite for radically transforming social conditions in Western Europe. Then the common people would have something to fight for if war became necessary. The source of the Communists' influence would be removed. And proof would be given that the grave difficulties of the present could be solved without any sacrifice of freedom; freedom, on the contrary, would be extended. A Western Europe built on this new foundation would undoubtedly exert a great attraction on the countries at present subject to the U.S.S.R.

The essential social changes can be carried out only if two conditions are met. First, Marshall Plan credits must be used primarily for increasing the output of consumers' goods. Second, war production must be reduced to a minimum, if not to zero. Western Europe should be unified economically, and the Marshall Plan should contribute to its unification. This demands above all the organization of a vast democratic movement in Western Europe to advocate and apply these solutions.

Under present conditions it is impossible to increase both civilian and military production. To impose a program of military production on Western Europe is to paralyze a civilian production that is already far from sufficient. That would mean creating living conditions socially and politically favorable to the Communists. And in the end we should face the danger that this costly war production would fall into the hands of the Russians.

Stalin might get even more out of the game. The Marshall Plan, as it is, weighs heavily on the American people. A double program of economic and military aid for Europe would impose still heavier burdens on them. American public opinion might then grow weary of the whole European aid program. What a victory for Stalin that would be! On the other hand, if the billions of dollars available were used for the reconstruction of Western Europe, there would be a great chance for a complete victory over Stalinist totalitarianism—and without the terrible cost of a war.


WESTERN UNION
BRUSSELS PACT
ATLANTIC PACT
Nearly twelve months after the signing of the Brussels Treaty there are few signs of a common defence mechanism.
COW
PLENTY OF GENERALS, BUT WHERE ARE THE TROOPS ?

London *Evening Standard*

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WHAT TO DO WITH THE RUHR?

I. Socialize All Heavy Industry

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

AMERICA'S policy in Germany has undergone various important changes since the end of the war. It has been a long road from an economic policy essentially determined by thinking along the lines of the Morgenthau Plan and calculated to keep German industrial production as low as possible to a policy which recognizes that the reconstruction of Europe depends on industrial recovery in Germany and that German production must therefore be rapidly brought back to peace-time standards.

There have been many fluctuations between these points of view, but in one respect American policy has so far seemed unequivocal. It has sought a revival of German capitalism under the slogan of "free enterprise," even though all history tends to show that such a revival will not work. Every step in the direction of the socialization of German industry has been opposed. The owning classes have been favored even though the spokesmen of this policy knew and at times stated that these classes had been willing collaborators of the Nazis, and that the German workers are today the only group which actively supports democracy.

American policy has been consistently directed against the political and economic ideas of German labor. Even when England had exclusive jurisdiction over the Ruhr and was making mild efforts to socialize key industries, the United States saw to it that no decisive steps were taken, using as a check British dependence on American financial aid. In the summer of 1947, when England asked the United States to assume the greater share of the occupation costs for the British zone as well as the American, the United States consented on condition that no socialization measures should be adopted in the Ruhr.

It is more than questionable whether the British government was really obliged to give way on this matter. Had it socialized the Ruhr industries during the initial period of the occupation, it could have probably pointed to a *fait accompli*. But according to a dispatch in the New York *Herald Tribune* of May 21, 1948, Mr. Bevin declared "that he had been prevented from nationalizing basic German industries in the British zone mainly by the United States."

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Besides opposing all plans for putting Ruhr industry under public control, American policy has plainly demonstrated its hostility to the German workers and their program. To cite a few salient examples:

1. In all countries receiving Marshall Plan aid the trade unions have been given some voice as to how this aid is to be used. Only in Germany, so far, have the trade unions been denied any such participation.

2. When the currency reform was put into effect, the German trade unions were not consulted, though it caused a substantial decline in real wages: wages were frozen while price-fixing and rationing for many classes of goods were abolished.

3. It is estimated that one-fourth to one-fifth of the persons now living in western Germany are deportees and persons who have been bombed out. Today these millions form a Fifth Estate with a standard of living inferior to that of 150 years ago. To provide some amelioration of their fate the Germans sought to pass a law "equalizing the burden" (*Lastenausgleich*). Military Government vetoed the measure. The New York *Times* reported in a Berlin dispatch: "The State Department has told General Lucius D. Clay . . . that he must withhold approval of the law to equalize the burdens on Germans resulting from currency reform, war damage, and expulsion from neighboring countries."

4. The Americans have prevented the socialization of industry not only in the Ruhr but in other parts of Germany, even where a majority of Germans clearly favored it. In Hesse, for example, a parliamentary majority composed of Social Democrats and Christian Democrats decided to socialize the coal mines and steel companies. It could certainly not be said in this instance that the measure was backed only by the Socialists. Nevertheless the American administration refused to let it be put into effect. The New York *Times* reported:

> The German administration of the state of Hesse was ordered December 14 to return to former owners a group of coal mines and steel companies that had originally been subjected to a socialization program under the state constitution approved by the Military Government. The Minister-President of Hesse refused to carry out the order . . . declaring that he intended to stick by the constitution. Both the Social Democrats and the Christian Democrats supported his stand, and the state Cabinet threatened to resign in protest against the Military Government order.

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AMERICAN policy in the Ruhr has been an obstacle to any progressive development in Germany and, more than that, to any real advance toward a United States of Europe.

The Ruhr is not only Germany's chief industrial center but the greatest industrial center in Europe. Its prewar steel production was just about equal to Russia's, or to that of England and France together. Its coal production was below the British total but many times greater than the French. The Ruhr is even more important to Germany today than it was before the war, for the industrial centers in Upper Silesia have been lost. Moreover, since large agricultural areas in the east have also been lost, western Germany must import a much greater proportion of its food than it did formerly and must achieve a far greater export trade to pay for these imports. This will be possible only through an increase in industrial production, that is, Ruhr production.

How is this to be done if American policy is directed toward the revival of German capitalism? Big business and management in the Ruhr were the allies and collaborators of the Nazis and the German militarists before and during the war. How is it to be done against the wishes of France, which was invaded by a German army largely armed and equipped from Ruhr production?

The American administration has devised a way to bridge these conflicts. It has reinstated a large part of the old management in the Ruhr. And at the same time it has begun to organize international control of Ruhr production, intrusting the final word on its distribution to a committee of fifteen—three Americans, three Britons, three Frenchmen, three representatives of the Benelux countries, and three Germans, who for the present are represented by the three military governors.

This "solution" will not work, but will merely bring on one crisis after another. It will strengthen all the nationalist and anti-democratic forces in Germany. Since only the Ruhr is put under international control, these reactionary forces are able to claim that the Allies have imposed foreign rule on Germany's largest industrial center, thus depriving the sovereign German state to be created of its economic basis. The policy will also strengthen the hand of the Communists in western Germany. They can say to the workers: "Now you see how the Americans are bringing back into power large sections of the old management, together with the representatives of international capital." And in another direction it will strengthen French nationalism and the Gaullist movement in France, which maintains that American influence is creating on the other side of the Rhine a steel industry that threatens shortly to outstrip the French industry.

It goes without saying that this strengthening of German and French nationalism diminishes the hope of achieving a United States of Europe. Progress toward that end is possible only when relations between the two dominant industrial nations on the European continent are on a basis of mutual confidence. This in turn requires that in both countries the strength of progressive, democratic forces be increased.

German workers are fully aware that the French deeply distrust any restoration of Germany heavy industry. An article in the German weekly, *Der Bund*, on control of the Ruhr, states:

> German workers fully understand France's concern with security against the kind of military attack it has had to suffer repeatedly. . . . No worker or trade-union member would object to the presence of Allied control officials so long as they would confine themselves to the control of armaments. Indeed, they would support such control to the utmost.

But German workers are convinced that French suspicions will never be allayed while the old management crowd with its record of Nazi collaboration is in control. The *Bund* article continues:

> The Ruhr miners want no new merchants of death, no matter against whom they are directed. It is for this reason that the best and only security for France and all other countries, the true guaranty of peace, lies in the socialization of the Ruhr industry, with workers and their unions carrying a full share in management, in combination with a vigorous workers' international.

GERMAN workers today are by no means the only group to realize that the crucial question in the Ruhr is not the level of its production but rather whether its industry shall be socialized and Hitler's collaborators deprived of their economic power. Large segments of the international labor movement, in Europe and America, have seen the light. At a convention of the International Mine Workers (democratic, Socialist, anti-Communist) at Düsseldorf the executive committee indorsed the endeavors of the German miners, newly accepted into membership, to socialize the German mines. Delegates from various countries pledged themselves to strive for the realization of "this radical measure" and for the representation of the German unions on the administrative boards.

Democratically organized unions in Western Europe and America are also demanding that the German workers be given a decisive role in the administration of the Ruhr industry and that international control of heavy industry be not limited to Germany but extended to all Western Europe. Here a truly progressive trail is being blazed, for Germany and for Europe.

This stand on the part of German workers and the international trade-union movement has recently scored a certain success. In selecting trustees for the steel industry in the Ruhr, Military Government refused to accept the most corrupt of the former Nazi collaborators.

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Apparently the constant urging of constructive policies does influence the occupation powers. The British especially are inclined to support the German and international trade unions on this point. At the same time a success of this kind must not be overestimated. It is but a modest beginning in a struggle that bids fair to last a long time.

The lines are sharply drawn. On one side stand those who want to revive German capitalism, though it was shown twenty years ago that the system made it impossible to maintain democratic political institutions. On the other side stand those who would socialize the Ruhr industry and establish international control as the first step in the internationalization of heavy industry throughout Europe—a truly important step forward toward a United States of Europe.

II. An Appeal to My German Comrades

BY LEON BLUM

Paris, March

SOME weeks ago, in a speech delivered before the House of Commons, Winston Churchill expounded a thesis—certainly not for the first time but with particular emphasis and vigor—to which I for one give full agreement. The federal organization of Europe, he said, will remain chimerical as long as Germany has not been reintegrated into the European community on an equal footing, and he added that this reintegration must be, above all, the work of France. It is precisely, he said, because France is the nation which for eighty years has most frequently and sometimes most cruelly suffered the attacks of imperial and Hitlerian Germany that it must today take the initiative in bringing about sincere reconciliation and cooperation with a peaceful, democratic Germany.

If I ever publish the personal notes which I wrote in Buchenwald, it will be evident that I formed this opinion while I was a prisoner of the Gestapo with very little hope of getting out of their hands alive. Yes, Europe must reconcile itself with itself, to quote Jaurès. And France must take the initiative in this step. But how can it do so if it is confronted by a Germany which has not purged itself of the imperialist and Hitlerian venom, a Germany whose political cohesion and economic strength may still appear to France as a threat to peace? It is understandable that the French found the hostile reaction of German opinion to the agreements on the Ruhr reached in London in December an alarming symptom. And this point must be discussed frankly before international public opinion and my German comrades.

What actually was accomplished in London? The question of ownership of the Ruhr mines remained in suspense, though it was assumed (1) that in no case must the mines and factories fall into the hands of their former owners, who were the sponsors and tools of the Hitler regime, and (2) that if socialization or nationalization were carried out, the title of ownership would pass to the *Reich* or to the *Länder* (states) in the name of the German people. The important new point was that an international authority, to which the peace treaty would give definite form, would exercise full supervisory control over industrial production, its power not limited to the division of the products of the Ruhr basin among Germany and the other participating parties but extended to the distribution and use of these products within Germany.

In adopting these principles, which I believe I have analyzed correctly, there is no doubt that Great Britain and the United States intended to make a legitimate concession to the views held by the French government in agreement with the Parliament. And there is also no doubt that the French government indicated that it had yielded to the unrelenting pressure exercised on it by the Socialist Party since the Liberation.

WHAT is it, then, that German opinion rejects today as iniquitous and insulting in these principles? Is it the eviction of the magnates of the Ruhr? All the German parties asked for it. Is it socialization for the benefit of the *Land* or *Reich?* The German Social Democratic Party included this in its program and was followed, if I remember correctly, by the other parties of the left. Obviously the point that hurts is the establishment of an international authority which would guarantee to the other nations of Europe that no part of the production of the Ruhr basin would be employed for the manufacture of war matériel. What hurts and shocks me is that the German Socialists, the German democrats, have come to regard so natural and so legitimate a purpose as an outrage and an abuse of power.

We have always been hostile, my friends and I, to arbitrary limitations on the "industrial potential" of Germany, particularly its steel production. When General Marshall proposed his plan, one of the many advantages we saw in it was that it implied the progressive return of Germany to its normal, and even to its maximum, level of productivity. We rejoiced that German in-

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dustry had thus been called upon to make the largest possible contribution, not only to the prosperity and well-being of the German people, but to the prosperity and well-being of Europe in general. We still insisted, however, that the reparations equitably owed by the German people to the countries which Hitler's armies had looted and sacked should not be wiped out. While we did not agree that dismantling, conceivable only for real war factories, could be applied to plants which might be adapted or reconverted for peace-time production, we held to what has been called the "levy on current production." When German productivity exceeded the normal needs of the German people, we believed that this surplus should be diverted to the peoples who were victims of Nazi devastation.

A second condition we laid down was this: the world, Europe, and Germany itself must be safeguarded against any possible transformation of the German "industrial potential" into a "potential of aggression." We have always sought such a guaranty, and we seek it still in a system of international control in which the democratic German state will be accorded an equal role. On this point we are astonished and pained that the German Socialists and democrats do not think as we do.

I know very well the specious argument of the opposition—the revolt of German opinion. I was surprised to see that in a recent article Anthony Eden accepted this argument. I reject it categorically. No one in Europe is more ardently attached to the ideas of collective organization and federation than the French, particularly the French Socialists. And it is obvious that this federation cannot be conceived without the integration of the German democratic state. But when our German comrades say to us: "We are waiting for Europe to be organized; until then, why any special measures for Germany that do not at the same time apply to the iron mines of Lorraine, the collieries of Flanders and Belgium?" I am obliged to answer: Alas! there are reasons or rather there is one reason. And this reason is so clear, so powerful, so urgent that I should be ashamed to state it once more.

It is very difficult to believe that deep down in their hearts the Socialists and sincere democrats of Germany do not find this position fair. I think I understand what prompts them to take the opposite attitude publicly. In the sphere of German domestic politics they have to fight on two fronts. They have to withstand not only the propaganda of a neo-nationalism which could easily take the shape of a neo-Nazism but also the propaganda of the Communists, who in Germany still gamble on the trump card of extreme nationalism. French Socialists have no desire to betray into the hands of the neo-nationalists and Communists these German Socialists and democrats in whom we have put our hopes for the future. We demonstrated it last summer at the London conference when we maintained that setting up a western German state would place the German Socialists in a particularly difficult position. But outbidding the nationalists is not the way to fight them. There are times when Socialists and democrats must have the courage to dam strong national currents in the interest of justice and international peace.

I BELIEVE we have the right, my friends and I, to speak frankly to our German comrades because in not dissimilar circumstances we set an example and proved ourselves. As early as 1919 we denounced the errors and absurdities of the Treaty of Versailles and advocated a reasonable reparations plan. We fought the military occupation of the Ruhr. We demanded the anticipated evacuation of the Rhineland. We had against us the great majority of the *Chambre Bleu-Horizon*,* the mass of public opinion, and even, at times, the bulk of the working class. Some of my old friends in Germany perhaps still remember the speech I delivered in Hamburg when the Ruhr crisis was at its height. If the French public had understood and followed us earlier and if the Communists had not played their atrocious game in Germany, perhaps the Weimar Republic would have been consolidated and Germany and the world spared the wild madness of Nazism.

In the days after the Second World War we lived up to the record of our past. We were the first and for a long time the only ones who opposed General de Gaulle's policy toward Germany. It was a ridiculous, retrogressive policy designed to grind Germany into a dust of little sovereign states, with perhaps eventual political, economic, and cultural protectorates for those in the Rhine valley. We thought, and we still think, that a federation-type government would be best suited to the needs of present-day Germany, but we have always guarded against carrying the federal idea so far that it would interfere with the political and economic unity of the state. As before, we contended against public feeling, not without risk and not without success. We ask our comrades and friends in Germany to do today only what we ourselves have done.

Our aim is the same as theirs—the reconciliation of a democratic Germany and republican France within the framework of a federated Europe and, if possible, within that of an international community, united and powerful. Work for this goal must be based on mutual comprehension and fair judgment. On two occasions we were able to bring home to republican France what was natural and legitimate in the feelings of the German people. Today it is the turn of our German comrades to bring home to democratic Germany what is natural and legitimate in the feelings of the French people.

* After the First World War many Nationalist deputies wore the horizon-blue army uniform.

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Taxes, Dynasties, and Charity

BY KENNETH FIESTER

WHEN a college or a charity goes into business, should its profits be exempt from taxes? The present law says yes. But the question will be hotly debated when the Eighty-first Congress writes a tax bill. A change in the law has been demanded for two reasons: first, there has been a sensational rise in the number of industrial and commercial enterprises owned by tax-exempt institutions; and, second, the use of "charitable trusts" as a device to avoid taxes is increasing. Economists, tax experts, and a scattering of newspapermen and public officials have been aware of these developments for several years. But it's a rare economist, Congressman, or editor who will gratuitously attack a practice that profits his church, his alma mater, or his customers, no matter how it may affect the public interest.

A polite silence on the subject might still prevail except for the human failing of carrying a good thing too far. The first break came last September in connection with what seemed quite a different matter. Textron, Inc., announced the impending permanent closing of its mills in Nashua, New Hampshire—the latest in a series of Textron liquidations which had already cost New England nearly 7,000 textile jobs. The mills, then employing about 3,500 persons, had been Nashua's largest industry for more than a century. The city was aroused, and so was the Textile Workers Union of America (C. I. O.).

The union demanded a Senate investigation—and with the election only two months away it got one. Senator Charles W. Tobey, a New Hampshire Republican heavily endowed with Puritan morality, independence, and eloquence, was assigned by the Senate Foreign and Interstate Commerce Committee to conduct it. It soon appeared that Royal S. Little, Textron's president, was an ardent devotee of "charitable trusts." Emil Rieve, national head of the textile union, has testified to some of the complex dealings between Textron and such trusts. Many of the facts had been first reported, of all places, in *Fortune*. Senator Tobey quickly discovered others. From then on the operations of charitable trusts became the main subject of the inquiry.

Three months later the New York *Times* began a series of articles revealing the extent to which American colleges and universities were engaging in business. There articles indicated that taxes of some $50,000,000 a year were avoided by such operations. So far the *Times* has taken up the business activities of colleges only. Those of the churches are another and more delicate problem. But the biggest and most vulnerable exemptions will come to light, if the probe is conducted relentlessly enough, in the half-world of charity—the unaffiliated, unsupervised "foundations" like those set up by Royal Little. If the whole story is ever laid bare, Mr. Little will prove to be merely a small-time operator in the field. He is simply the one whose industrial practices offended the wrong people at the wrong time and thus exposed his financial practices as well.

In the textile field the huge Callaway Mills and the Atlanta Woolen Mills in Georgia and the Commander Mills in Oklahoma are operated by foundations. Foundations own controlling stock interests in the widespread Loewenstein and A. D. Juilliard chains and in a number of others. One large foundation owns a great automobile business and insures it against dispersal through taxation or rifts among the heirs.

UNLIKE the colleges, the industry-sponsored foundations have more in mind than tax avoidance. It was brought out in Senator Tobey's hearings that "charitable trusts" can be used for one or all of the following purposes: (1) dynastic control of an industry; (2) freedom of management from all responsibility toward any one factory or other property, including freedom from the obligation to "protect its investment"; (3) the accumulation of "risk capital" without recourse to banks, the stock market, or a corporate reserve account, and thus without questions from bankers, the Securities and Exchange Commission, or dubious stockholders.

Here, as briefly as possible, is one way in which the system can be worked. An industrialist sets up a trust under state charter. He makes a nominal contribution of $100 or so as initial capital and designates himself or an associate as trustee with unlimited powers. The beneficiary is also designated, but there is no provision for enforcing contributions to the beneficiary. The trustee's judgment is absolute. The industrialist then lends the trust a substantial sum of money in cash or securities. The trustee uses this capital for speculation in industrial properties, probably the industrialist's own properties. The profits from this speculation are tax exempt.

Soon the trust is able to repay the original loan. And there remains a large and growing pool of money available for the industrialist. He may perhaps use it to buy a certain factory to meet a short-term requirement. He picks up the bulk of the stock—and immediately sells to the

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trust all the land, buildings, equipment, and other physical property. Since he controls both ends of the transaction, he can do so at a profit or a loss, according to his bookkeeping needs of the moment. He then leases the property from the trust, or he may operate the factory for a "management fee." When his short-term need, which may be goods or profits, is met, he closes the plant, and the trust liquidates the property at its leisure, paying no taxes on the proceeds. The industrialist, as can be seen, recaptures his investment almost at once through sale of the physical property to the trust. He has no financial stake in the factory; he can pull out at will.

There are a good many variations on this procedure. The trust may buy the stock itself and lease the property to the industrialist. The property may be sold in parcels, particularly if the industrialist controls a number of different trusts. As a rule, the trust takes over where the tax bite would be biggest. The industrialist cannot pocket the money thus saved, but he can use it as capital for further transactions.

ADMITTEDLY the guise of charity is not necessary for such operations. There are other means of separating the physical property and working capital of a plant from the operating company, as the owners of Amoskeag Mills showed when Manchester, New Hampshire, went bankrupt as a result of their operations more than a decade ago. The Amoskeag stockholders simply siphoned off all undistributed profits, working capital, and what should have been depreciation reserves into a separate corporation. Bonds—upon which interest payments were mandatory—were then issued against the physical property. Stripped of cash and with a fixed burden of interest, the enterprise ultimately collapsed, leaving the owners in carefree possession of their original investment plus all the money the mills had ever earned. Trusts simply make such deals easier and more profitable. They become essential only when the object is dynastic control.

For example, the industrialist may own a large and highly profitable business which he wishes to pass on intact to his heirs. Neither inheritance nor gift taxes appeal to him. He decides, therefore, to sell or give his company to a "charitable trust" of his own creation. He names a self-perpetuating board of trustees composed of members of his family and close associates. The industrialist is hailed as a philanthropist, but it will be found that he and members of his family continue in salaried managerial positions. They draw as much or more from the enterprise than before. There is more to draw from, since the profits now do not have to be divided with the tax collector. There may even be something for charity.

Lack of space forbids a more detailed examination of these arrangements. It should be stressed, however, that they differ from the commercial operations of colleges and churches in their intent rather than their form. Universities have taken to manufacturing spaghetti (New York University owns the C. F. Mueller Company) and operating airports (the University of Michigan owns the Willow Run field) because their income from normal investments is no longer sufficient to meet their needs, or what they regard as their needs. This was emphasized in the replies of educators to the New York *Times* articles. In any case, the profits from such enterprises go directly to the school, church, or charity. The beneficiaries of the unaffiliated foundations are not always so fortunate. One of Mr. Little's trusts, for example, grew from $500 to $4,500,000 in eleven years, during which time it paid out only $50,000 to the supposed beneficiary and more than $200,000 to its trustees, including a United States Senator.

However, some economists believe that the legitimate trusts, and the business activities of colleges, are a greater threat to our system than the pseudo-charitable foundations. The ground for this view is that the holdings of schools, churches, and the like are in effect "frozen." The very stability of income which a college seeks, these economists argue, acts to inhibit capital risks, and risk is essential to healthy capitalism.

But evolving a remedy for the obvious abuses will be hard enough without going so far into the economic stratosphere. Mr. Little and his associates made the point, in their testimony before Senator Tobey, that what would hurt them would also hurt "Harvard University and the Catholic church." There are of course a few non-controversial steps which could be taken. All trusts claiming tax exemption could be required to file with the Treasury, and to publish, complete accounts of receipts and expenditures. Tax exemption could be denied to trusts which failed to devote a certain proportion of income to the cause they were ostensibly created to assist. Perhaps a distinction could be made between operations directly controlled by bona fide tax-exempt institutions and those conducted merely "in behalf of" a school or charity.

But these suggestions are mere palliatives. They do not grapple with the basic problem. Would it be all right, for example, if the University of Chicago acquired the United States Steel Company and Notre Dame University took over General Motors? The profits, to be sure, would then be paid to institutions of glittering legitimacy; yet the tax collector would get no share of them, and the rest of us would be obliged to make up the difference.

It may not be possible to limit pseudo-charitable foundations without doing injury to genuine ones. Senator Tobey has no formula; his principal recommendation in his report to Congress on the Textron investigation was that trusts be required to pay 85 per cent of their annual gross income to their beneficiaries. A good many bona fide charities would consider this a crippling blow.

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Del Vayo—Spain Before the U. N.

A FEW people who have long been faithful to the cause of democratic Spain have recently deserted it because they do not want to embarrass the architects of the Western coalition. Harold L. Ickes, however, still holds high his banner against the fascist regime of Madrid. We Republican Spaniards feel a deep and enduring gratitude toward the former Secretary of the Interior. One day in 1938, when the Republican army was particularly hard-pressed—the Spanish people, alone and unaided, were withstanding the assaults of the foreign fascist aggressors—a confidential report from Washington came to me at the Foreign Ministry. "At least," it said, "we have one true friend in the Cabinet—Harold Ickes." That Ickes is still the friend of democratic Spain is proved by two recent columns in the New York *Post*.

But if we Spanish Republicans are greatly in Mr. Ickes's debt, American liberals are not less so, for he, with a few others, has saved their honor by his stand on a question in which world opinion is still passionately interested. His acute political sense tells him that American liberals are making a fantastic mistake in allowing the extreme left to claim to be the sole defender of the Spanish Republic. When I hear people say, "What a pity that the defense of Republican Spain is left entirely to the Communists and Russians," I feel that such cynicism makes still blacker the shameful record of the Western democracies. For what on earth has prevented Foreign Secretary Bevin and the British Labor Cabinet from defending the cause of the Spanish Republic? Why have they not been the ones to rally the United Nations against the former enemy, the ally of Hitler?

In the United Nations the question of Spain was put on the agenda by Poland. The American Department of State, on the other hand, has said to the friends of Franco in the United Nations: "The American delegation will not take the initiative in suppressing the resolution of 1946 barring Spain from the United Nations, but if you will do so, we will back you up."

To justify America's pro-Franco policy the record of the Spanish fascist regime during the war is now being falsified. Winston Churchill himself has used his brilliant pen to revise history, ascribing to Franco the virtue of refusing to enter the war on the side of Germany. With a better memory, Mr. Ickes wrote in the *Post*, "Hitler is entitled to whatever credit there may be for the standing aside of Franco at the time, not Franco."

At the session of the U. N. Assembly opening this week an attempt will be made to establish the pro-Ally attitude of the Spanish dictator. Let us, therefore, quickly review the facts. In September, 1939, when war broke out, Franco proclaimed Spain's neutrality. But on June 12, 1940, two days after Italy's entrance into the war, Spanish neutrality was transformed into "non-belligerence." On the following day Franco's troops occupied Tangier and abolished the international zone.

Shortly afterward the Madrid government, in a memorandum to the German ambassador, announced that it was ready, under certain conditions, to abandon "non-belligerence" for an openly pro-Axis role. A little before the fall of Paris Franco sent a letter of congratulations to Hitler and proposed again that Spain should take an active part in the war. Next, in a speech on July 18, 1940, Franco asserted Spain's right to Gibraltar and declared that "two million soldiers were ready to revive Spain's glorious past."

There can be no doubt that Franco offered to enter the war against the Allies—at a price. Mr. Ickes is entirely correct in saying that it was Hitler who kept him out. As long as Hitler believed that his air attacks would force England to capitulate he was not interested in helping Franco to get Gibraltar or in promising him a slice of French Morocco.

When it became apparent that Hitler had miscalculated, Franco sent Serrano Suñer to Berlin to offer his sword again to the Führer. On September 17, 1940, Franco's brother-in-law, at that time the actual leader of the Falange, delivered to Hitler a personal message from the Spanish dictator in which, after expressing "his gratitude, his sympathy, and his high esteem" for the Führer, he affirmed his "loyalty yesterday, today, and tomorrow." With the war entering a different phase, Hitler was now interested in Operation "Felix and Isabel," the chief feature of which was an attack on Gibraltar. Having been informed by Serrano Suñer of Hitler's attitude, Franco wrote another letter to the Führer on September 22, 1940, emphasizing his pleasure in the course events were taking.

Franco was so eager to be accepted at last as a partner in the war that he pressed, through diplomatic channels, for a personal meeting with the Führer. The interview took place at Hendaye, on the border between France and Spain, on October 23, 1940. It was a complete success. In a signed agreement Franco declared himself ready to join the Anti-Comintern Pact, and it was generally recognized that, for any country, this was a preliminary to entering the war. The Falangist press was overjoyed. "Spain awaits a historic event," proclaimed the newspaper *Madrid* on October 23, and *Alcazar* exulted: "Spain will regain the place in the world which is rightly hers."

When Franco and Mussolini met at Bordighera on February 12, 1941, il Duce asked Franco directly: "If Germany meets Spain's conditions, as expressed in the Hendaye accord, will Spain enter the war?" "Yes," replied Franco.

That later, when the war was going against him, Hitler tried in vain to make Franco come in does not alter the fact that when the Allies were in desperate straits Franco was eager to help give them the coup de grâce. This is the gentleman for whose sake the State Department is ready to disgrace itself and the United Nations simply because Spain's Atlantic coast has strategic importance. Let us admit it: not principles but military bases are what counts. Then we shall begin to understand what is going on.

From next week on Mr. del Vayo will devote his page to reports on the current session of the U. N. General Assembly at Lake Success.

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The Colorado Is Sovereign

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, March 28

IN COMING weeks Congress will be holding hearings on the Central Arizona Project, and the celebrated feud between Arizona and California over the Colorado River will have entered another phase. The immediate issue is whether the Bureau of Reclamation should proceed with this $738,000,000 project, which calls for the construction of a dam at Bridge Canyon on the Colorado and the diversion of some 1,300,000 acre-feet of water. The water is to be pumped by power generated at the dam to an elevation about 938 feet above the dam and from there to flow by gravity, through a 235-mile canal, to central Arizona.

There can be no question that the water is needed there. Only 1.2 per cent of the state's total area is under irrigation, and 81 per cent of this limited irrigated area, or 725,000 acres, is in central Arizona. The region is now suffering from a water famine caused by excessive pumping, wasteful use of water, and the occurrence of a dry cycle. Water tables have dropped, and the amount of water in storage in all the reservoirs of the Salt River Valley has declined from 1,560,000 acre-feet in 1941 to 393,899 in 1946. A large portion of the area, which last year produced $200,000,000 in agricultural income, may revert to desert unless something is done.

California strenuously opposes the Central Arizona Project for two reasons. In the first place, it holds the plan to be economically unsound. To lift 1,300,000 acre-feet of water at the point of diversion would require nearly one-third of the power which would be generated at Bridge Canyon. Of the cost of the project about $400,000,000 would be chargeable to irrigation, which theoretically would mean a cost of something like $1,600 per acre. Actually the Arizona irrigators do not intend to assume this burden; they expect a major portion of the bill to be paid by the purchasers of power, namely, the industrial users in Southern California. It is argued, therefore, that the project would so increase power costs in Southern California that the industries of the region would be placed at a competitive disadvantage with industries in other areas. If the Colorado had a superabundance of water, Southern California would still oppose the Central Arizona Project on the ground that it would increase power costs.

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The other objection has to do with the diversion of water. Under the Colorado River Compact, drawn up when development of the river was initiated, the water of the Colorado was divided between Upper Basin and Lower Basin states, Lee's Ferry being taken as the point of division. The water was not apportioned among the various states concerned but merely between the two basins. The Upper Basin states have since reached an agreement on their respective allotments, but the Lower Basin states —California, Nevada, and Arizona—have never been able to do so. The reason is, of course, that there is plenty of water in the Upper Basin and a shortage in the Lower.

THE legal issues in the Arizona-California dispute are real enough; in fact, it would take a sizable volume to state the opposing equities, arguments, and positions of the parties. But as the history of the West so eloquently demonstrates, the problem of water in an arid region transcends legal issues. The development of the Colorado, it should be noted, was undertaken at a time when the "river valley" or "watershed" approach to problems of this kind had not been fully stated. When Boulder Dam, the first great multiple-purpose project in this country, was built, the law of "water rights" was carried over and applied, and the problem of the Colorado was regarded as one of determining these "rights" rather than of developing the potential uses of the river as fully as possible. The Colorado River Compact, therefore, has always been a source of controversy.

A basic difficulty is the entirely arbitrary manner in which the Colorado River Basin was divided into two parts, with plenty of water in one and not enough in the other. A river-valley authority could articulate the needs of the entire basin and develop all the uses of the river; water could be shifted from one area to another, from one use to another, as the situation changed. Under the existing compact no such flexibility is possible. Moreover, the workability of the compact turns on the validity of assumptions as to the "average" and "long-term" flow of the river and on so-called "surpluses." But such assumptions are grotesque for a dynamic river like the Colorado, whose flow at Lee Ferry varies from 5,500,000 to 25,000,000 acre-feet. There is nothing "average" or "normal" about this river. Since both California and Arizona are exclusively concerned with their respective "rights" and not with the fullest development of the Colorado as the Southwest's greatest natural resource, the controversy inevitably degenerates into a legal struggle in which both sides manufacture whatever arguments are

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needed to sustain their positions. Not only are the legal issues unreal, but within the narrow framework of the compact they cannot be resolved.

THE bitterness of the Arizona-California dispute has been aggravated by the location of the two states in relation to the Colorado. California, one of the principal users, lies outside the watershed and therefore contributes scarcely a drop of water to the river. Almost all of Arizona lies within the watershed, but unfortunately on the wrong side of the river to make the maximum use of water. California lies below, Arizona above, the level of the river. The water was first used to irrigate land in Southern California because it was much easier to bring it to the Imperial Valley than to divert it to the higher level of central Arizona. Arizona naturally looks upon California as a water thief; California, vitally dependent on the Colorado, counters with the argument that it was California's wealth which made the development of the river feasible. And it is true that had it not been for the almost limitless market for power in Southern California, Boulder Dam might never have been built. But because Southern California is, in effect, outside the Colorado River Basin, it tends to think of the river in terms of its own needs and to ignore the larger interests of the basin. Driven to seek water from an outside watershed, Southern California has long followed a policy which can be fairly characterized as "water imperialism."

In the dispute over Colorado water as distinct from Colorado power Southern California is exclusively concerned with its future needs; central Arizona with its immediate crisis. Southern California is currently using only a small part of its share of Colorado River water—a circumstance that infuriates Arizona farmers—but its expansion depends on the availability of water. Most of the Colorado River water now being used in California goes to the Imperial Valley, and the way it is being used is mentioned as infrequently as possible by Californians. Approximately 500,000 acres in the Valley are under irrigation today, and plans have been drawn up to irrigate an additional 500,000 acres on the East Mesa and the West Mesa, the plateaus on either side of the Valley's trough. Soil surveys have shown that a large part of this acreage is of doubtful long-range productivity, but the whole area has an immense speculative value if water can be brought to it. To build up an established use, or "vested right," which can be turned to advantage in future litigation, the Imperial Valley has been using Colorado River water most improvidently. As much as 1,116,000 acre-feet of water drains every year into the Salton Sea and is in a sense "wasted," since it cannot find its way back to the river. Thus if one forgets the dispute over legal "rights" and looks at the facts, the question becomes in part whether it is "fair" to develop the Imperial Valley at the expense of central Arizona, which produces much the same crops for the same markets. Since California has a strong "legal" case, it insists that the issue should be decided by the Supreme Court. But if needs determine rights, central Arizona has a better claim on the water than the Imperial Valley.

THERE can be no real settlement of the issues within the present frame of reference. It is absurd of California to contend that the dispute is primarily "legal." The Colorado River, not the Supreme Court, is sovereign in this case. It is equally absurd for Arizona to seek a "political" solution based on the unpopularity of California's position in the West. Only if all parties abandon the narrow and particularistic view they have so far taken of the problem can a workable solution be found. The plain fact is that the West must project, with the aid of the federal government, a water plan for the entire region. The development of California was retarded for four decades by a senseless fight over "water rights," and the development of the West is being similarly retarded today. In an arid environment men and states will battle over water with a bitterness that beggars description, but in the long run the very shortage compels cooperation in the development and proper utilization of the available supply. There is enough water in the West to meet most of the conflicting demands for it, *provided* there is thoroughgoing cooperation, careful planning, and vigilant control. The Colorado doesn't give a hoot for compacts, politics, or "rights." It is piling up silt in Boulder Dam at an alarming rate, and at the delta it is already beginning to "cut back" its channel. Neither the Supreme Court nor Congress can issue any writs that the Colorado will respect.

At the moment the Arizona-California dispute is entangled in Democratic party politics. Arizona has the advantage of being traditionally a Democratic state, and it has powerful allies in the Senators from the other Western states. But once the fight gets out of the committee phase, the power of the Southern California Congressional delegation, and of California's electoral votes, will tend to offset this advantage. President Truman is caught in a murderous cross-fire. The federal government should not play a "hands-off" role on the assumption that the issue is full of political dynamite, nor should it seek to pit one side against the other. It should vigorously intervene for the purpose of asserting the nation's overriding interest in the proper development of a major national resource. After all, the federal government holds the trump card—it must finance whatever project is undertaken. Federal intervention should bring about a Western conference on water resources and the formulation of a plan or series of plans for the development of the entire region. No matter who "wins" in the current controversy, the major issues will not be settled.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

TO ME the most interesting thing about the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace was the degree to which it was dominated by an issue that was not on the agenda—freedom of expression. Like an invisible picket, this issue haunted the conference from its very inception. It seems to have been waiting in Berlin when the Russian guests of the conference crossed the frontier into Western Europe, for one of A. A. Fadeyev's first statements to newspapermen was this: "We have no instructions from our government. We are going to the conference to speak freely as free individuals. We are not restricted in any way." And certainly it hovered over the meetings at the Waldorf—disturbing the peace of delegates determined to speak only of peace.

Since it is my incorrigible belief that the free expression and exchange of ideas will do more in the end than a thousand peace conferences to bring about genuine peace, I cannot regret that the conference was thus pulled off its appointed course. And at this point, with the advantage of hindsight, it seems extraordinary that anyone should have thought that the question of freedom of expression could be prevented from pushing its way into a discussion between the East and the West held in New York and having to do, even indirectly, with literature, science, and art.

Apparently the sponsors of this conference did think so, with the ironic result that they themselves unwittingly did more than anyone else, not to raise the issue—it raised itself—but to dramatize it.

When the sponsors of the conference issued a list of participants obviously selected on the basis of their political sympathies and presented them, by inference, as representative of American writers, scientists, and artists, they threw down the gauntlet to other writers, scientists, and artists who stubbornly regard themselves, and surely with reason, as also representative. It was a challenge that could hardly be ignored, and the response of Sidney Hook and Americans for Intellectual Freedom was not only inevitable but necessary.

When the sponsors imported from Russia one man, Shostakovich, who is well known in America not only for his music but for the fact that he has been denounced by the Soviet government and forgiven only after a confession of sin and a promise to mend his ways, and another, Fadeyev, who also in his time has been denounced and forgiven but who is better known for his excoriation of America as fascist and American writers as hyenas, they were surely inviting the attention of the curious on the one hand and the furious on the other. And American writers were bound, in both senses, to be inquisitive about the suppression of their Russian counterparts.

It might have been expected that the writers officially designated to participate in the conference would themselves be interested in such matters—for instance, Clifford Odets. Mr. Odets spoke eloquently of the "terror" that stalks America—though so far as I know it has not caught up with his latest dramatic foray against the profit system, which is playing openly and, I presume, at a profit on Broadway. Yet it is not recorded that he or any other writer officially connected with the conference showed the slightest interest, human or literary, in writers who have been suppressed—in fact and not in fancy—in the Soviet Union. It remained for the opposition to ask questions, and in one panel session Dwight Macdonald did ask Fadeyev about seven writers. He got evasive answers about two and none at all about the others.

What went on at the conference, in short, was not exactly free and frank discussion about peace or anything else, and the exchanges that did take place were unplanned. That they took place at all "saved" the conference in more ways than one. It indicated that the sponsors were not quite prepared to insist publicly that the truth is all on one side. And it certainly made the conference far more interesting than it would otherwise have been.

I can bear witness to this from having attended the dinner session. It was necessarily given over mainly to greetings and set speeches which had to be interpreted. Still, it was marvelously dull. Even the formidable Fadeyev was mild as May. There was a bit of a flurry when Olaf Stapledon, departing from his text, made a speech that could only be called pro-British. But there was "no story" until Norman Cousins spoke his piece and Lillian Hellman answered him in a scathing, irrelevant, but rather funny riposte. It was amazing what a difference a little difference of opinion made. (The hazard of boredom in a one-party world, by the way, has had less attention than it deserves.)

The next day I attended the meeting of Americans for Intellectual Freedom. Here also there was unanimity; and it too would have been more interesting if the other side had been present. But most of the speeches had the merit of being specific and informative. They were devoted largely to filling in with facts and humanizing with names the familiar but vague general picture of the regimentation of writers and scientists in the Soviet Union, and incidentally they provided some of the answers that Fadeyev failed to give.

The sponsors of the conference and the "good-will people" who attended the sessions would argue, as they have for thirty years, that to stress such facts is to play into the hands of "reactionaries" who want to destroy Russia. I suppose it is futile to argue back—but I think that exactly the opposite is true. The Soviet Union suffers today from the great delusion that repression has a future. Yet it is surely clear by now that repression, no less than imperialism and racism, leads to stultification at home and conflict abroad. Friends of the Soviet Union should be the first—should have been all along—to say so. As long as they continue, instead, out of ignorance or misguided "revolutionary" zeal, to support and encourage that delusion, they are not diminishing but increasing the tensions and fears that divide the East and the West; and what is much worse to my way of thinking,

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they are performing the function of a fifth column not against capitalism and imperialism but against the freedom of the mind and all its fruits.

A LITTLE FREE EXCHANGE IS better than none, and international visits, under any auspices, are desirable. I hope the visitors from Russia and Eastern Europe have found it possible to enjoy themselves in spite of their fear and hatred of the imperialistic, aggressive, cosmopolitan, formalistic colossus of the West. I hope too that they have met a few of the concrete Americans who somehow manage to go on living under these terrific and tiresome abstractions.

Indonesian Leader

OUT OF EXILE. By Soetan Sjahrir. Translated by Charles Wolf, Jr. The John Day Company. $3.

SOETAN SJAHRIR was born on Sumatra's west coast forty years ago. After his elementary and secondary education he went to Holland to study law at the University of Leyden. Even as a boy he had felt a great affinity to Western culture, and when he returned to his native soil at twenty-three, he found himself all but isolated in Java because of his genuine absorption in it. He was about to return to Holland to complete his legal studies and rejoin his Dutch wife when he was suddenly detained by the Dutch colonial government as a political prisoner—his crime being his leadership of an organization advocating widespread education among Indonesians. After a year's imprisonment in Java he was sent to an internment camp in New Guinea and thence to Banda Neira in the Moluccas, where he remained until the Japanese occupation in 1943. After that he joined other Indonesians in underground resistance to the domination of the Japanese. He did not see his wife for fourteen years.

It was Sjahrir's destiny to become the spokesman, before the Western world, of the young Indonesian Republic, to express Indonesia's aspiration and claim to a place in the world community of nations, and to take a leading part in the struggle to end Dutch colonial rule. "Out of Exile" provides an intimate view of the development in Sjahrir of a personality that is symbolic of the subject peoples all over Asia. In his case some credit for the emergence of a political leader out of a troubled, academic youth, almost divorced psychologically from his people, must go to the shortsighted policies of the Dutch colonial government. Sjahrir himself writes that his imprisonment brought an end to a period of doubt and internal struggle. "Now that my people require from me the dissolution and the destruction of my personal happiness, the separation from my loved ones, now all my sorrow disappears, and there remains only my deep feeling of belonging and alliance to this downtrodden people of mine."

The greater part of the book is based on letters Sjahrir wrote to his wife and his friends in Holland during these years in prison. They are candid and intimate, calm in temper, and blend personal emotion with an increasing social awareness. Mr. Sjahrir prizes simple frankness but does not wish it to be mistaken for immaturity; he prizes realism and discards his former romantic idealism without bitterness. The ideal of tolerance is present in all he writes. He is a romantic realist, global-minded, tolerant in all matters, believing in cooperation as the highest law of human nature. He is against "hedges" in every kind of thinking, against "narrow, forbidding barriers," and the sort of "law and order" that derives from individual peculiarities rather than from world-wide concepts.

"Out of Exile" shows how deeply Sjahrir is immersed in Western culture. He is extraordinarily westernized in the true sense, but he is critical of the nationalism and science of the West just as he is critical of the fatalism and mysticism of the East. He writes: "It is an extremely important fact to note that we are now in the midst of our European period, as before we have had our Hindu, Chinese, and Arab periods." He has read widely in Goethe, Dante, Mill, Marx, Kant, Freud, Russell, Huxley, Auden, and so on. His admiration of the West is genuine: "For me the West signifies forceful, dynamic, and active life. It is a sort of Faust that I admire, and I am convinced that only by a utilization of this dynamism of the West can the East be released from its slavery and subjugation. The West is now teaching the East to regard life as a struggle and a striving, as an active movement to which the concept of tranquillity must be subordinated. Goethe teaches us to love striving for the sake of striving, and in such a concept of life there is progress, betterment, and enlightenment." Sjahrir believes that this concept of striving is not a destructive force, as revealed in the ambitions of Japan, but a constructive one, implying great benefits for humanity.

Today, in many parts of the Orient, a man of Sjahrir's caliber is often misunderstood. So much so that unless he belongs to a political party in power he may be thrown into jail. It is ironic that an Oriental like Sjahrir, bred in the best elements of Western culture, and believing in its ideals, should have been imprisoned for his subversive activities by the colonial government of one of the democratic nations. "Out of Exile" provides a lesson in dealing with the subjugated peoples of the East. We should make a distinction between native leaders, who have adopted "Western ideals" only to seek personal gain, often by force and under the guise of democracy, and those of profound insight and intellectual sincerity. Until we understand this difference and act upon it, all the lives and money spent to win the war will not have helped to win the peace.

Mr. Sjahrir was fortunate enough to attain his goal. When Indonesia's independence was proclaimed in 1945, he was made Prime Minister and chairman of the influential working committee of the new Parliament. In 1947 he represented Indonesia at the hearing of its case before the United Nations. He is now representing his country in its negotiations with the Dutch. At the end of Book Two, a section added to his letters to bring them up to date, he concludes: "Our struggle has reached a new phase. Our ultimate victory—the establishment of Indonesian freedom—is assured."

Mr. Sjahrir is shrewd, intelligent, and objective. He has done a real service to his country in publishing this book; it is bound to win sympathizers to the Indonesian cause. Charles Wolf, Jr., himself an author of a book on Indonesia, "The Indonesian Story," has provided a good translation.

YOUNGHILL KANG

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Anatomy of Culture

MEXICAN ARCHITECTURE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. By George Kubler. Yale University Press. Two Volumes. $15.

HISTORIES of American art, like all reflections on our culture, serve as an index to our maturity. Our attitude toward our own past and toward Western art in Europe swings from provincial to independent: at times we deny any parents, at times we flaunt our lineage. The past, however, offers richer perspectives than this choice. To come of age may mean the realization that the conscious individual or nation has to reorient history.

The historical view of art, though a fairly recent concern of the human mind, has been constantly redefining itself over the last two hundred years. Winckelmann, seeing art as an illustration of the ethical values of a culture, served principally by calling attention to it as an element in history. Nineteenth-century scholars, tracking down his generalizations, took the stand that appraisal should follow the cataloguing, describing, and arranging of the material. It is easy to be contemptuous of enumerators, but their work left the next generation more free to explore the implications of the material. A Wölfflin attacked the problem of style, and saw the history of art as a morphological study. The good thing about Wölfflin was that he knew—and plainly stated—that he was not concerned with value judgments but with classification; danger lay in the temptation to interpret his description of a particular historical episode as a universal system of art's development. Meanwhile, romantics like Ruskin and Pater had demonstrated the charm of subjective appraisal according to personal aesthetic preconceptions. As a kind of balance to this, iconographical studies, though not focused on art itself, enriched our familiarity with the past and inversely contributed to a revolt in the field of aesthetics. Croce and Dewey, rebelling against such peripheral concerns, insisted on the importance of the creative process and its fundamental importance as human experience. Partly from this larger view of the relation of art to life, historians of art in our day have come more and more to explore the function of art in society. Not without influence from Marxist theory, the history of art has moved toward archaeology and its view of the artifact as an element inextricable from the culture complex.

At this point, concerned less with judgment according to preordained aesthetic standards than with a search for the meaning of art in its environment, historical studies in American art begin to make sense. Perhaps there has not been a Phidias or a Michelangelo or a Rembrandt in the whole Western Hemisphere in our four and a half centuries of existence. Extremely interesting things have been made, none the less, sometimes ingenuous, sometimes virtuose, often impressive and beautiful. They were of a piece, furthermore, with what was happening in our politics, in our philosophy, in the clothes we wore and the names we gave our towns. They appeared all over the Americas, whether Spanish or Portuguese or French or Anglo-Saxon; so that churches in Buenos Aires and Maryland were built from the same architectural handbooks, and the picture galleries of Lima, Rio de Janeiro, and Chicago were almost interchangeable in the nineteenth century. Americans who ask what America means will do well to look at the art, popular and official, and may perhaps see the story more easily in the art of other American countries.

It is from this point of view that a publication on so apparently circumscribed a subject as Mexican architecture of the sixteenth century may be considered a cultural event. Of all the arts, architecture is most closely meshed with total culture, partly because of its practical function, partly because it is apt to be anonymous and communal. Labor is a serious consideration; such economic and social problems as financing, the availability and distribution of materials, the relation of government to group or private enterprise, the status of experts and their availability, are nicely silhouetted in the building of a cathedral. The first volume of this study has much to say on such matters. We see what an unlimited supply of free labor means for architecture, and how the gradual assertion of rights for the Indians affected building. A more subtle matter is what the author calls "psychological unemployment": the impairing of the will to work as Indian culture breaks up and the individual is unable to adjust himself to mere monetary rewards in place of participation in meaningful group activity. All the phenomena of acculturation appear in the assimilation, the diffusion, and the transformation of European decorative idiom in the hands of native workmen. The whole story demonstrates the effectiveness of absolutism in government; we had no such great building program, backed by a great empire and an organized church, in Eng-

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lish North America. Perhaps most interesting of all to the historian is the chapter on urbanism, the systematic planning of cities. Here is an example of the American achievement: architects from at least the time of Vitruvius had dreamed and theorized about the ideal city—what it should consist of and how it should be laid out—but they had never had a chance to put their theories into practice. In Spanish America these old hopes were embodied in official directives, just as old ideas of political equality found application through our Constitution.

The scope of this book is, of course, not limited to exploration of the place of architecture in civilization: it is also the most comprehensive and well-documented text yet to appear on any phase of Mexican architecture in any language. In this field every kind of historical work remains to be done, and the second volume contributes a great wealth of documentation and considerable preliminary classification. The most important documentation is furnished by the illustrations, more than four hundred photographs, plans, and drawings, for whose excellence, as well as for the handsome format and low price, the Yale Press deserves special credit. There are very few people, including historians of art, who will not be astonished at the number, quality, and interest of Mexican buildings.

Perhaps the most interesting thing about these buildings is that they do not conform. From the point of view of the European historian they mangle and confuse the styles, chronology goes to the winds, and the logical development which Wölfflin described no longer serves for classification. This is still true in the colonial period, in full contact with European architecture, just as it was in pre-Conquest art. It may be, indeed, that New World art is going to free us from the specifications of a Wölfflin, just as American history has helped to break the spell exercised by Spengler.

One cannot appraise these buildings even by assessing the degree to which European and indigenous tradition function in each one, although this represents at least a consciousness that a different attitude is needed for dealing with a different art. I do not mean to say that this architecture will yield to no classification, to no standards, but to insist that such systems of classification and judgment must be derived from the material, not imposed on it. Historians of American art must be aware of this challenge. The assumption that there is only one way for a culture to develop, that what happened in Europe will account for what has happened and will happen in America, that, in short, everything is already known, and that the rules, once defined, have only to be applied, is to underrate human possibility.

ELIZABETH WILDER

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A NEW DIRECTIONS BOOK

Negro in America

BLACK ODYSSEY. By Roi Ottley. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.50.

ROI OTTLEY'S "Black Odyssey" is "a detailed story of the Negro's experiences in this country from 1619 to 1945" told through anecdotes and personality sketches. The light touch thus brought to a frequently weighty subject was, to this reviewer, most welcome. Yet it would be exaggerating to say that Ottley has drawn on the vast canvas supplied by all of American Negro history a picture as successful as, say, his own smaller portrait of Harlem, "New World A-Coming." The new book lacks clarity, unity, and smoothness. Nevertheless, individually, its many sequences leap with life.

At times "Black Odyssey" reads like a delightful believe-it-or-not newspaper strip. How many in the audience knew that a man named Anthony Johnson was not only the first Negro to own slaves but "the first *legal* slaveholder in America"? Who would have dreamed that in progressive New York City a century ago—it wasn't so progressive then, Ottley shows—different street cars were assigned to white and colored straphangers? And who could have believed that in Virginia a group of Negroes once tried to establish a monarchy?

Then again the author becomes the historian of an important process, as when he describes early attempts to Christianize Negroes. These met with such strong white resistance that one missionary, Francis Le Jau, required of a converted slave that he sign a pledge not to utilize his new-found faith "to free yourself from the duty and obedience you owe your master while you live." Despite such bowing and scraping before Caesar, Christianity could not but revolutionize Negro life: countless slaves learned to read and write through the Bible, and colored churches harbored many an Abolitionist gathering.

An ex-newspaperman, Ottley is plainly most at ease when reporting dramatic events like wars and slave insurrections. Since he leaves out no important happening, he gives the impression of a John Gunther trying to gulp down the world at one sitting, but he knows his Negroes better than Gunther does white Americans. Thus he can speak intelligently about the Negro in politics, business, war, agriculture, education, labor unions, and the arts. Nor is there an outstanding race hero who fails to be sketched from some angle, from the pre-Revolutionary poet Phyllis Wheatley, through the Boston martyr Crispus Attucks, the inventor Benjamin Banneker, the insurrectionist Nat Turner, the conductor of the underground railroad Harriet Tubman, the Abolitionist Frederick Douglass, the business man C. C. Spaulding, the back-to-Africa mystic Marcus Garvey, the diplomatist James Weldon Johnson, and the labor leader A. Philip Randolph.

After reading about these people it is difficult to conceive of them as "Ne-

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groes." After all, what is a "Negro"? Ottley defines him thus:

> Negro is not a label for a race of people—but actually a description of a condition, a badge of social and racial inferiority, and a way of life in the United States. The word applies to 14,000,000 people of color, living in slum corrals in towns, villages, and cities. Negro connotes song, dance, and laughter. Negro means lynchings, proscription, and discrimination. Even so, Negro is an inadequate description of the people it is supposed to label. When scratched, they are white, black, red, brown, and yellow, and thousands of shades in between, resembling nearly every type of person that inhabits the earth, with caste, class, racial, and national differences. . . . Loosely, one might say, Negro is a state of mind.

Ending with high optimism, Ottley appears to indorse the prediction of W. E. B. Du Bois that by 1965 Negroes will achieve full citizenship. Great social revolutions do not begin or end on specific dates, but this reviewer hopes that the prediction comes true.

DANIEL JAMES

Dante's "Sweet Little Book"

AN ESSAY ON THE VITA NUOVA. By Charles S. Singleton. Harvard University Press. $3.

WHAT does Dante's "Vita Nuova" mean to us today? It is worth asking, for Dante's early work lies "outside and beyond the limits of our modern horizon." A famous critic wrote once that "from the second half of the sixteenth century medieval art became an enigma." Professor Singleton, who quotes this remark, gets at the significance of the fact that the "public context" of the "Vita Nuova" "is radically changed." Its "inner and private meaning," which had "a tension with what was outside, with a context amounting to a kind of public dimension," has now "no longer anything to play against." We must then "manage to go back *there* if we would see Dante's 'sweet little book' for what it is."

The main critical premise is that the modern reader's usual temptation to read Dante's book as a biographical document is utterly misleading, that it is really an attempt to rewrite the "Vita Nuova." Dante's work is not an autobiography, nor is it a confession. Its theme is hidden in the five lines of the Proem, with its crucial metaphor of a young poet's "Book of Memory" (containing poems and a commentary), and of a scribe copying freely from it—that is, omitting certain parts while adding to others his own retrospective "gloss." A book of such a complex nature, Professor Singleton notes, "would in no way have troubled a reader of the thirteenth century," for whom, "already and without any metaphor of a 'book of memory,' it was . . . reasonable to regard things and events of our real world as so many words in a book, the Book of the Created Universe." For the young Dante and his readers a poem was literally a microcosm—it had "a rational structure, . . . in imitation of the creation of God."

The lover of modern poetry must feel here that he is treading on unfamiliar ground—for the concept of art underlying the "Vita Nuova" and the aesthetic view reflected in a poem by Rimbaud or by Cummings mark extremes in the development of Western poetry. For Dante's contemporaries poetry was an apprehension of nature, which reflected God's immutable order; for us, poetry is the creation of a world of one's own —added, as it were, to nature—by a self-appointed god.

Professor Singleton's second point is that the death of Beatrice lies at the very core of the "Vita Nuova," and that Dante felt it to be a miracle. It is foretold in visions; its gravity is confirmed by numerological signs. But "how may these not call to the mind the death of another, the death of Christ?" The relation, however, is not allegorical—"it is a resemblance of analogy." The death of Beatrice, "in that little world of the 'Vita Nuova,'" is *as* the death of Christ "in the real world whose author is God."

The interior movement of Dante's little book is plain if not transparent: it is "a gradual disclosure of the true nature of love." Love proves "to be always something more than it had at first seemed to be"; the quotation is from the chapter meaningfully entitled From Love to Charitas. Professor Singleton then proves convincingly that Dante's departure from the Provençal tradition (the troubadours'), as well as from the views of his Italian masters (Guinizelli, Cavalcanti), is unmistakable and far-reaching. The "Vita Nuova" reflects a new theory of love, a theory, however, in the original sense of the word—a "beholding" of how "love of woman may be kept all the way up to God." The young poet is not a saint; nor is he a repentant troubadour, as Petrarch will still be, a generation later. Dante faces the Lord "without recantation; . . . between the lover and God, Beatrice . . . remains." She is creature and miracle; yet "she has no other name which may be spelled with a capital initial; she is neither Grace nor Charity," she is a woman to the very end.

A note can hardly suggest the richness of Professor Singleton's concise essay. His analysis of the textual structure of the "Vita Nuova" is equal to his exemplary statement that "the measure of the validity of a work of art is our sense of the necessity of its form." And "form" in the medieval sense, the critic explains, is "that hidden principle of life from which all the rest follows."

"An Essay on the Vita Nuova" is a striking example of the maturity American criticism has reached. Historical groundwork, structural analysis, and

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ideological commentary converge to create a total effect. It is true that, in this essay as in many others, the reader is left to assess the essential value by himself—in this case to determine whether or not Dante's *poetic* achievement is continuously sustained. But if the artistic evaluation remains implicit, its terms are clearly established. In other words, Professor Singleton's indirect approach, aiming at a subtle critical feat, is probably deliberate. "One who desires to understand a work in itself," he writes at one point, "will often speak of matters which seem to lie outside the work and beyond it."

PAOLO MILANO

Books in Brief

LINCOLN'S SECRETARY. By Helen Nicolay. Longmans, Green. $5. An unpretentious and pleasantly human biography of John G. Nicolay by his daughter. The intimate picture of Lincoln and of life in war-time Washington, much of it quoted from Nicolay's notes and letters, is both interesting and valuable.

IN SEARCH OF A FUTURE. By Maurice Hindus. Doubleday. $3. Taking as a point of reference the success of the Jews in subduing the arid lands of Palestine, the author describes in human terms the economy and social structure of Persia, Egypt, and Iraq, contrasting their stagnation and poverty with the well-being and sense of achievement of the Jews. He attempts to find in the Palestine experiment a workable blueprint for the Arab nations.

PUBLIC OPINION AND FOREIGN POLICY. Harper. $3.50. Here is that rare bird—a symposium that is both useful and interesting. The authors—Lester Markel, Hanson W. Baldwin, Arnaldo Cortesi, W. Phillips Davison, C. D. Jackson, Martin Kriesberg, Cabell Phillips, James Reston, and Shepard Stone—describe the struggle to mold public opinion on foreign affairs both here and abroad, analyze the actual methods employed, and appraise their effectiveness.

DOCTORS OF INFAMY. By Alexander Mitscherlich. Schuman. $3. A coolly scientific presentation from evidence obtained at the Nürnberg trials of the Nazi medical experiments on living persons. More perhaps than any other atrocity book this chills the blood with its evidence that cruelty is no monopoly of the ignorant.

DISCRIMINATION AND NATIONAL WELFARE. Edited by R. M. MacIver. Harper. $2. Eleven lectures on the cost of racial discrimination in industry, education, housing, etc. As is inevitable when so broad a subject is so briefly covered, the book hardly more than states the problem.

THE OBLONG BLUR. By Philip Hamburger. Farrar, Straus. $3. Most of the pieces in this heterogeneous collection first saw the light in the *New Yorker* and carry the inevitable birthmarks—the oblique and penetrating glance, the offbeat humor, the inferential moral, and, in the case of the portraits, the ability to commit murder and make it look like suicide. A shorter book would have been a better book, but a surprising number of the pieces are worth rereading, especially the parody of Norman Corwin that gives the book its title, and Winds off the Pampas, a report on Argentina.

AN OUTLINE OF PSYCHOANALYSIS. By Sigmund Freud. Norton. $2. Freud's last and unfinished attempt to summarize psychoanalytic thought, vintage 1938. Highly theoretical and without illustrative material, it is well above the popular reading mind. As for the more sophisticated, it is an item which belongs in their library, although the theoretical material has long since been incorporated in the work of Freud's disciples.

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

SIDNEY KINGSLEY'S "Detective Story" (Hudson Theater) is to my mind quite the best melodrama of the year and none the worse for having a moral. Mr. Kingsley's plays have always been completely devoid of what we call "literary quality," and for that reason there is a kind of seriousness with which they cannot possibly be taken. Indeed,

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it is that fact rather than the undue prevalence of mere external violence which makes "melodrama" the inevitable label to apply to them. But I know no contemporary American who can take a topic—slum children in "Dead End" or doctors and nurses in "Men in White"—and turn out a more stage-worthy piece, full of shrewd if not too profound observation crisply and humorously embodied in recognizable types.

This time his scene is a precinct office of the New York police; his background material is what playwrights of another age would have called "the humors" of the criminal world; and his central character is a too stern and self-righteous detective whose determination to see that the guilty are punished makes it impossible for him to keep within the letter of the law and who "beats up" an abortionist about to go free. Perhaps it is not too hard for the spectator to guess that poetic justice is going to see to it that he himself will fall a victim to his relentless determination not to understand or forgive. But the story of the uncompromising hoist with their own petard is one of the most enduringly effective of dramatic fables, and before one is too scornful of it one may well remember that Sophocles did not think it unworthy of himself. Detective McLeod in the present play has at least one important thing in common with Oedipus, for Oedipus also was a man who blustered about in his determination that the facts should come to light and who was himself destroyed when they did.

In a newspaper interview Mr. Kingsley let it be understood that he intended the ultimate implications of "Detective Story" to constitute a comment on, almost an allegory of, the "police state" and the danger inherent in men who are so convinced that their ends are just that they are troubled by no scruples and moved to no mercy in the pursuit of those ends. Remotely, perhaps, these implications are there, but the more obvious and immediate "problem" is the problem of criminal justice, of society's right to punish those who break its laws without sufficiently considering how they came to do what they ultimately find themselves doing. Now this is a theme on which it is very easy to be merely sentimental, and in Mr. Kingsley's defense it must be said that he avoids the usual pure black and white of the melodrama and that this is by no means a case of the wicked police persecuting the innocent victims of society. Most of his police officers are decent if rough-and-ready men; most of his criminals are really guilty, and some of them are thoroughly vicious. Over against the young veteran who stole from his employer to give a girl a good time he sets, for example, a depraved and sniveling sadist with a long record of robbery and violence. And I do not think that he ever suggests any ready answer to society's problem. It is all very well to say that to understand all is to pardon all. But could a world really survive if those of us who like ourselves to pardon did not employ others less understanding. In actual fact we have accepted Dr. Johnson's compromise, which is "knock him down first and pity him afterward." I am not sure that I know any other practicable line of conduct, and I am not sure that Mr. Kingsley thinks he does either. You can temper justice with mercy, but that still leaves the question of just how much justice and just how much tempering.

"Detective Story" is staged briskly with fine attention to colorful vignettes supplied by the minor characters who build up the atmosphere. The method is one which was perhaps more popular a dozen or more years ago, and it suggests not only Mr. Kingsley's other plays but also such past successes as, for instance, Elmer Rice's "Counselor-at-Law" or, somewhat more remotely, Abbott and Dunning's "Broadway." But the method is still capable of supplying an interesting evening.

Ralph Bellamy plays the part of the detective with a good deal of force, and Meg Mundy, fresh from her personal success in "The Respectful Prostitute," is effective in the not very long role of the detective's wife whose past indiscretion brings about his downfall. Four or five performers in supporting parts deserve commendation, but I shall single out two who are not yet well known—Warren Stevens as the young veteran, and Lee Grant, who gives a really delightfully comic and pathetic performance as the feather-brained young girl caught shop-lifting for the first time and herself not at all sure why she suddenly walked away with an imitation-alligator handbag.

Films

ANTHONY BOWER

IT IS hard to say whether the horror of the concentration camps should ever be recalled, whether it might not be best to forget, as soon as decency permits, that most ghastly illustration of man's potential bestiality. The Ilse Koch affair would seem to indicate that memory is almost disgracefully short—but then the thought that people in general are inclined to regard people like the Kochs as Germans rather than as members of the human race makes one wonder about the value of keeping alive things past all endurance. The great lesson of the concentration camps was one that certainly should never have been demonstrated, but once it had been, its only enduring value—if such a word is not grotesque in the context—lay in showing the vileness of which human beings are capable.

The supreme merit of "The Last Stop," a Polish film which describes life in the women's section of Auschwitz with almost unbearable authenticity, is that by preserving, except for a few banalities in its slim and totally unimportant plot, a tremendously powerful detachment it demonstrates this hideous moral with great effect. It depicts the Germans in charge of the camp as monstrous, deformed, and horrible, yet recognizable as human beings, and some of the inmates of the camp as capable of behaving in a way just as depraved as the Germans; this recognition of the existence of some shading between black and white is both unusual and overwhelming in a film of this type. So much of the effect of American and particularly Italian films dealing with various aspects of the Nazis has been ruined by a tendency to portray them as venal beyond the bounds of credibility, perpetually dazed with morphine, doused in eau-de-cologne, and in pursuit of women suffering from chronic hysteria,

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but here they are to be seen much as they must have been in the camps—corrupt, outrageous, sadistic, degraded, and confused. They are credible examples of what human beings, in certain circumstances, can become—and what they must never be given the opportunity of becoming again.

The location on which "The Last Stop" was shot is Auschwitz itself, and many former inmates appear in the film. Four and a half million people were put to death there by gas, poison, torture, and slow starvation, and conditions of daily life were such that it seems absolutely impossible that anyone survived. To see these things accurately depicted is an experience far removed from pleasure, but a visit to this film, undertaken as though one were attending the confessional, is a highly valuable exercise.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IN THE Norman Corwin-Bernard Rogers opera "The Warrior," which the Metropolitan produced a few years ago, a reference to the soldiers' sinews was answered with "Sinews are good news." In Blitzstein's "Airborne" Symphony, a little later, the Monitor, who said of man's dream of flying: "Don't let it throw you, this little notion. . . . Don't go overboard," also said: "This notion eats oceans,/Puts the desert in its vest pocket,/Has geography for tea." And more recent examples of this style in music-dramatic texts were provided by the Ronald Duncan-Benjamin Britten "The Rape of Lucretia," in which there was the statement that "one gets kicked around," and on the other hand Lucretia's statement about Collatinus, "In whom I am, wholly;/With whom I am, only;/And without whom I am, lonely." But in addition there were lines like "The Night is weeping with its tears of stars," or "Home is what man leaves to seek"; and the comments of the Male and Female Chorus linking the developing action with Christ's crucifixion. In sum, a text filled with high-flown philosophical and poetic pretentions that fell on its face in every line. And a score which was nothing but a resourceful craftsman's pretense at writing music.

One can think of reasons which might lead someone to supply the money that was squandered on the outrageous attempt to put the work over on the New York public last December; one can imagine how the British Council might have been misled into having the work recorded; but what is impossible to imagine is the reasons for RCA Victor's issuing the recording (DM-1288, $11)—a good one of a good performance—in this country.

Having referred to Blitzstein's "The Airborne," I might add a little of the comment I didn't get around to making when it was first performed and recorded. Since Blitzstein had been assigned as composer to the Eighth Air Force, and had been given the specific assignment by his superior officers to execute his idea for "The Airborne," I asked a reader of this column who had flown thirty or more missions as a navigator in the Eighth Air Force (without, strangely enough, having known anything about Blitzstein's artistic labors for his benefit) to listen to the recording and give me his reactions. "Speaking as one on the 'inside,' in so far as a mere flier could be considered such," he wrote, "I find that the piece is very much the work of an 'outsider.' . . . These scenes which Blitzstein excerpted from air force life are false to the *internal* experience which I am sure many of us had of the events he uses. If he wanted simply to use them . . . for the purpose of reminding civilians in a general way that these things happened . . . then o.k. But these events didn't *feel* the way he puts them."

One of his examples was the amusing hurry-up-and-wait number about getting ready for a mission and having it canceled, which apparently had not been amusing to the "insider." "This is too brisk. The actual process of waiting was much more drab, it was more agonizedly drawn out, the sensation far more frustrated. . . . The instructions at the end . . . strike me as being too emotionally warm, and once again untrue to what was a harshness."

For me this reader's comment extended to details of the text. That is, for me the "Hello, fellas, hiya," "Snafu, brother," "Tarfu, slug," and so on were those of an "outsider" whose mind, I knew, operated genuinely in terms like "This notion eats oceans,/Puts the desert in its vest pocket,/Has geography for tea." They had, therefore, for me, the same aura of repellent phoniness as the tensely heroic activities of a group of Hollywood actors dressed up as the crew of a bomber in a war film. (As a matter of fact my reader's comment extends, for me, to Blitzstein's entire output as a proletarian composer.)

But if "The Airborne" seemed false to a navigator in the Eighth Air Force, it was terrific to the people in City Center. Especially when it demanded: "Open up that second front!"

Stravinsky's newest work, his Mass for mixed chorus and ten wind instruments, of which he conducted two performances at a concert of the Chamber Art Society, may overwhelm me the next time I hear it; but I can only report that I found it unpleasantly uncommunicative this time.

The Octet, which was conducted by the society's young musical director, Robert Craft, I enjoyed no more this time than last. But what struck me this time was that its style of humor was the one used—but with a sledgehammer—by Shostakovitch.

CONTRIBUTORS

YOUNGHILL KANG, a native of Korea who has lived in this country for many years, was recently Adviser to the Director of Civil Information in Korea.

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PAOLO MILANO edited "The Portable Dante."

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Letters to the Editors

Germany, 1949

Dear Sirs: I read with great interest the excellent article by Carolus, Good Days for Nazis, in your issue of February 26. It was the first time that I have found life in Germany described as it really is and not as charitable and well-meaning Americans believe it to be. I spent part of the past summer in the American and English zones of Germany and in blockaded Berlin and am therefore able to judge by my own experience. May I, out of this experience, add some facts to the statements of your correspondent?

Carolus mentioned the "ever-growing number of elaborately equipped. . . . restaurants . . . where anything may be had without ration coupons but at staggering cost." When I flew out of Berlin, I was seated next to a very fashionably dressed German woman. She did not hesitate to tell me that she was the owner of a restaurant in Berlin where for not more than 25 marks ($8 at the official rate of exchange) one could enjoy a full-course dinner, with wine. One week each month she closed the place to save her ration of gas and electricity, and during this week she flew to Frankfurt for new supplies. The price of the flight is 108 marks for Germans, who must place their names on a long waiting list for a reservation. She paid 1,000 marks—for obvious reasons she did not tell me to whom—and got a seat immediately, any time she wanted. This was her third trip since the start of the blockade, four months earlier.

While these people have the planes and the food, those whose "earthly possessions the Nazis looted and robbed," as Carolus says, are living "in misery and poverty . . . saying: If you want to get along, better be sure you were a Nazi." I heard people say this time and again, especially chemists, physicists, and pharmacists. The reason is simple enough. All those who were anti-Nazis were out of a job for years, and so even their technical knowledge is no longer up to date. While Nazis can offer the most recent experience in any field, their adversaries, badly dressed and lacking instruction, seem inferior.

The fact that the true anti-Nazis and the really suffering people are poorly dressed, not well washed, and often unpleasant to look at is the reason why, unfortunately, not every child, as your correspondent hoped, had a Christmas celebration through the kindness of American soldiers. The children sent to the American parties were not the underprivileged of the D. P. camps or the slums. It was left to the schools to select the little guests, and in a typical German spirit of punishment and reward those were sent who were the best in their classes. The well-fed child is generally a better pupil than the undernourished. Several children whom I met in Berlin wrote me recently that they had been to two and one of them to three Christmas parties of the Allies because they were the best in their classs. All of them came from "nice" homes, well provided with American parcels.

Though such children find a good meal ready when they come home, they receive in school a daily lunch for 3 cents, as Carolus says. Children who have nothing at home but their insufficient rations get the same amount. A well-to-do German mother in Bavaria complained to me that the price of the school lunches had been raised slightly. I expressed my surprise that her children were even allowed to share in this food distribution, and she answered: "Rich or poor, we are all citizens of suffering Germany and entitled to American help." When I tried to make her understand the cost of such a program to America, she replied haughtily; "You Americans should have thought about that earlier. You would not have been in the war at all if you had left it to us to fight the Russians, and you would not have to make war on them now." SABINE GOVA

New York, March 23

The Ghetto Perpetuated

Dear Sirs: While civil rights received a Senatorial rebuff in March, Chicago Democrats also performed some little-noted service to Jim Crow.

On March 2 the Democrat-dominated City Council killed, by a vote of thirty-one to thirteen, the Carey ordinance which would have prevented discrimination in any publicly aided Chicago housing project. The councilmen who voted against the measure were greatly influenced by the strongly worded opposition to it of the "reform" Mayor Kennelly, as well as that of the Chicago press in general, including, shocking as it may seem, the *Sun-Times*.

Kennelly said that the ordinance threatened the city's slum-clearance program, for which the voters had approved a $15,000,000 bond issue in 1947. This money is earmarked for the purchase and clearance of blighted land, which will then be resold to private developers at one-sixth of cost. Life-insurance capital is being sought, with this public subsidy as a lure. In addition to this money Chicago has had $40,000,000 available for housing since 1947. Not one unit has been started. The chief reason has been the city's unwillingness to face realities.

Chicago has 400,000 Negroes, crowded into the same areas that housed 280,000 in 1940. Their living conditions are pathetic, and the resultant social problems are notorious. All proposals to ease the pressure of this ghetto by building on vacant land in "white" areas of the city have been turned down by the Mayor and the City Council. Instead, Chicagoans are offered a slum-clearance program with emphasis on high-rent life-insurance projects. As a result, the Negro population here feels terribly threatened. The city is making ready to acquire Negro homes, tear them down, and allow private investors to build high-rent apartments for whites only. Slum clearance thus becomes Negro clearance. F. ADRIAN ROBSON,

Chicago Congregational Union

Chicago, March 23

Not Accelerated Depreciation . . .

Dear Sirs: In his article called Strange Accounting, in your issue of March 5, Richard Yaffe wrongly defined "accelerated depreciation," and his conclusions are therefore also wrong.

"'Accelerated depreciation,'" he writes, "means putting aside enough money from current profits to provide for an increase in the cost of plant replacement." It doesn't mean anything of the kind. Accelerated depreciation means charging off the larger part of the cost of a facility in its earlier years, when it is presumably most useful, instead of spreading the cost evenly over the whole estimated life of the facility. Incidentally, "depreciation" in accounting terminology has nothing to do with set-

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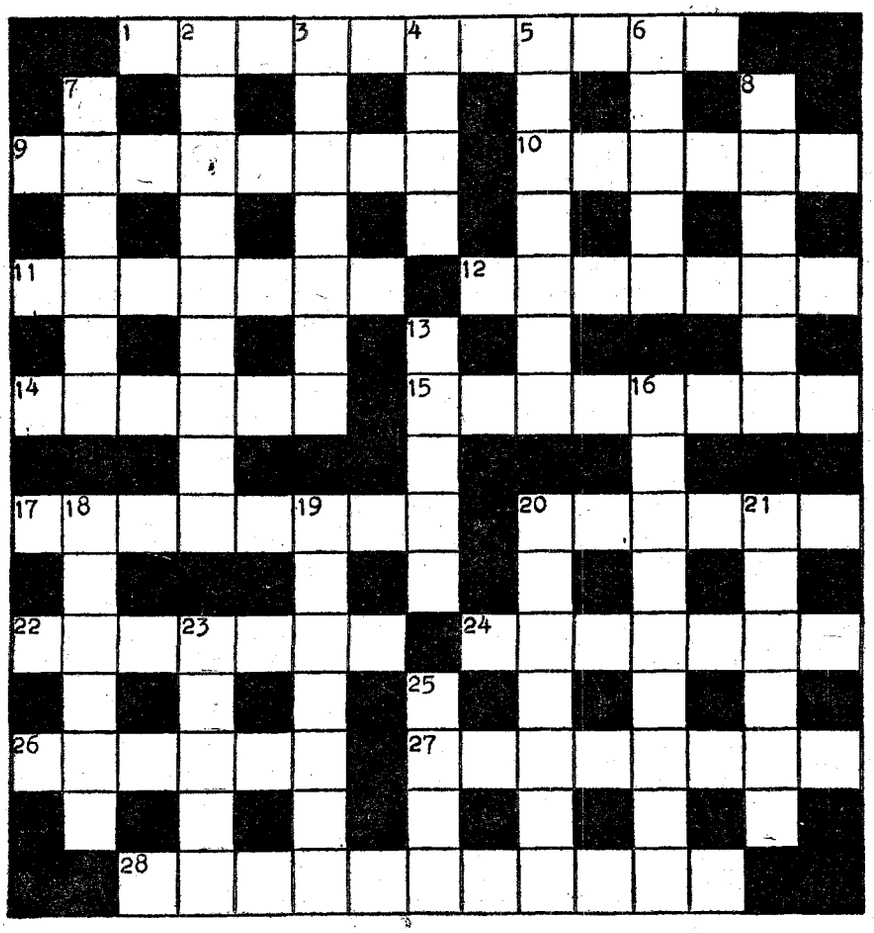
Crossword Puzzle No. 308

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Bars weren't able to hold her back, but the place you bought this from obviously does! (5, 6)
9 Furnishing something for one's extremity. (8)
10 Jackson, for example, was a sort of 18. (6)
11 Heels. (7)
12 This sort of trade is on horseback. (7)
14 Didn't go supported. (6)
15 This might test your resistance. (8)
17 Is such a statement made when one cleans up? (8)
20 Associated. (6)
22 See 13.
24 England was in 1664. (7)
26 In the eye, or near it. (6)
27 Think hard for this! (8)
28 Such handiwork should be found in the North, if one considers the compass. (6-5)

DOWN

2 A Percy, the original in fact. (9)
3 Terror did once, in greed as well. (7)
4 Goads horses. (4)
5 Ran in most peculiarly to what a modest person seldom overlooks. (7)
6 1, 2 and 3 are in this class. (5)
7 So is the gate, and narrow is the way. (6)
8 Busy with what sounds like an award. (6)
13 and 22. Fellow-Red, perhaps. (5, 7)
16 To impart knowledge to a sort of 18 and 50. (9)
18 Wander in confusion. (6)
19 Sherbet on top, ground under. (7)
20 The ballet implies rapid movement. (7)
21 They start off Even-Steven. (6)
23 Israel lost one once. (5)
25 A wise one is sometimes a fool. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 307

ACROSS:—1 GREAT DANES; 6 LENT; 10 MORTALS; 11 CHEKHOV; 12 LARK; 13 SNARE DRUMS; 15 IVANHOE; 16 DIMITRI; 17 TRESSES; 20 EVENING; 22 ELIMINATES; 23 ODER; 25 AGA KHAN; 26 NIAGARA; 27 ECHO.

DOWN:—2 ETRURIA; 3 TWAS BRILLIG AND THE SLITHY TOVES DID GYRE AND GIMBLE IN THE WABE; 4 ABSENCE; 5 ENCORED; 7 EXHAUST; 9 BENDEMEER; 18 EPITAPH; 19 SPANNER; 20 ETERNAL; 21 INDIANA; 24 TAXI.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

ting aside money; it is simply a method of allocating cost to determine net income for a given period.

The United States Steel Corporation in its latest report stated specifically that the total amount charged to depreciation would *not* exceed original cost. Mr. Yaffe is just a year late in writing his article. In its annual report for 1947 the steel company did deduct as part of cost an extra amount which was supposed to represent part of the increase in the replacement value of its plants and facilities. The certified public accountants who audited the 1947 statement took formal exception to this in their report, and the SEC also refused to approve it.

In its latest report, therefore, the company gave up the use of charges based on replacement value and went back to original cost. The accelerated-depreciation method of accounting does mean that the charge for depreciation is larger this year than it will be later, partly on the ground that facilities are now being used to full capacity and so are wearing out faster than is normally expected. This has always been accepted as a sound accounting principle, although it is true that the Treasury prefers the "straight-line" method, with the cost spread evenly over the useful life of the facility. It has not yet been decided whether the company's calculation of accelerated depreciation will be accepted for tax purposes. It would make no difference to the government in the long run, if tax rates remain the same, but it would reduce the taxes due for 1948 and increase them correspondingly later.

F. H. COOK

New York, March 20

. . . But Not Cricket, Either

Dear Sirs: Mr. Cook is quite right in one respect: I did not define accelerated depreciation correctly, for which I apologize. What I should have written was "depreciation on reproduction value." But he is quite wrong when he says my conclusions are also wrong. It is true that "depreciation" does not entail setting aside any money, but that is quibbling, since it *is* a charge against profits, and consequently increases the

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sales price and the amount of cash taken in. And it is also true, as I both stated and implied, that this money can be used for *any* purpose, even though its primary purpose is supposed to be for replacement.

This method of bookkeeping cannot be condemned if the money is really going to be used for replacements. But what if no replacements or additions to the plant are made during the life of the original plant? In that case the company is left with all its capital in current assets, which may be converted into cash in a short period.

It is not surprising that the Treasury prefers the more equitable "straight-line" method. Mr. Cook admits that United States Steel's proposals, if accepted, would cut its tax load for 1948; it remains open to argument whether the tax load would be "increased correspondingly later." What if it wasn't? Meanwhile, the cost will have been passed on to the consumer.

What I said holds: United States Steel's attempts to change accounting methods in 1947 and 1948 were for the sake of higher profits and lower taxes. A commendable try—for Steel. But not for the consumer.

RICHARD YAFFE

New York, March 27

An Extension of Remarks

Dear Sirs: In my article, The Test of a Teacher, in your issue of March 5, I wrote that Dr. John Sloan Dickey had "justified the charges" against the professors discharged at the University of Washington by finding them lacking in intellectual integrity. I am sorry to have misstated Dr. Dickey's position on this matter. He was recently interviewed in Denver, and in the course of answering various questions, some of which related to the Seattle cases, he made the statement about intellectual integrity. I assumed that he made this statement with reference to the discharges in question. I believe the assumption was justified, not only because of the nature of the interview, but because what Dr. Dickey had to say about academic freedom on this occasion was certainly not limited or qualified. I want, however, to apologize to him for applying his remarks at that time to the facts in the Washington case. Those facts have now been summarized in an official publication of the university, "Communism and Academic Freedom," and I invite Dr. Dickey's attention to this record.

CAREY MC WILLIAMS

Los Angeles, March 16

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An Open Letter to My Son . . .

Dear John:

I just can't tell you how happy you made us feel when you wrote that Mary was going to have a baby. Just think! A grandchild in the family at last!

I presume our emotions are much the same as other people's, and now I know why others make such a fuss over their grandchildren!

But something recently came to my attention which I think I should tell you about. I would like to tell all parents about it.

At an after-dinner party the other night, a subject which is rarely discussed came into the conversation. Ours was a mixed and intelligent crowd, yet it surprised us all—and I might even say shocked us. The subject was circumcision, and the general opinion was that it is a "medical problem." Some of us tried to dismiss the question, but one man persisted and said it was *not* a medical problem; that some members of the medical profession had expressed opposition to it; that some people consider it a cruel mutilation rather than a useful or beneficial or sanitary necessity . . . and then he proceeded to submit a great amount of evidence to support his views. He told of bungled operations and cases where children have bled to death because of hemophilic tendencies in the family.

Suddenly this "tabooed" subject became one of great seriousness, and that is why I am writing to you.

If your child is a boy, John, for heaven's sake if you have any doubt about this matter, get a copy of the book from which this man got his facts. The essence of his objection was that circumcision is a holdover from archaic times and exists today only because of our pitiful ignorance of the subject. I dread to think that through ignorance our child might suffer a permanent mutilation.

The title of the book is "In The Name of Humanity," and the author is Joseph Lewis. By all means, John, get this book and read it. Eminent physicians like Dr. Miles Atkinson and Dr. Harry Benjamin of New York, and Dr. Maurice Chideckel of Baltimore endorse the book. You must read it—if for no other reason than for the sake of humanity. The price is only $2.00. If you can't get a copy from your bookstore, you can order it direct from the publishers—the Eugenics Publishing Co., 370 West 35th Street, New York 1, N. Y.

With all our love,

Mother

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